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IMPORTANT  
CONSIDERATIONS  
ON THE  
TRUE NATURE  
OF  
GOVERNMENT.

WHEREIN  
Various Notions relating to the *British*  
Constitution, and the present critical  
Conjuncture of Affairs, are set in a  
just Light ; and the real Interests of  
the Nation fairly stated.

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By a LOVER of TRUTH.

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*Seek Jokes elsewhere ; but if the Truth you seek,  
Of serious Truths in Language plain we speak.  
In Time then read, in Time be grave and wise ;  
You know what comes, of foll'wing after Lyes.*

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T H E  
P R E F A C E.

E are told, that the celebrated Rabelais, whose Learning, tho' very great, had never transmitted his Name to Posterity to make his Bookseller Amends for a good Book which he never could sell, wrote his GARAGANTUA and PANTAGRUELL, which got the Trader an Estate, and transmitted the Author's Reputation with great Advantage to succeeding Ages. In like manner, having an ardent Desire, gentle Reader, to see the following Sheets in Print, I have stipulated, in case they should not please the Publick, to indemnify the Operator who ushers them into the World, by writing for him a curious Piece, in a Prose-poetick Style, intituled, The Modern Hudibras; or The Dissenters in State: An entertaining, instructive, and yet literally true History, enlivened with proper Digressions, in the manner of the ingenious Author of a Tale of a Tub.

Now then, having made thee a Promise of a Farce, let me, O well-meaning Peruser! intreat thee to run thro' the small Treatise put at this present Writing into thy Hand, though written in the  
true

ii      *The P R E F A C E.*

true Spirit of Patriotism ; which is so little known in the World, that we daily see the vilest Counterfeits sold in its Stead, to the great Dishonour of that noble Cordial for a declining Nation ; with this farther Assurance, that thou wilt find it much richer and higher flavoured, than any thou hast tasted, though prepared by the boasting Empirick, who formerly dispensed his Packets from a Shop in Russel-street ; or even that which is still sold by the Mountebank in White-friers.

But perhaps thou mayst imagine, that as I have promised Rope-dancing in my Turn, in case this should not prove to your Taste, I am as much a Quack as they. Believe me, I do it only as those Diversions are in Fashion, and from Rabelais's Apprehension, that nothing serious may take. If a just Concern for yourselves, your Posterity, and the common Cause of Protestants, can work you into a graver Temper, be satisfied that I shall introduce no Posture Master to set you a laughing. But if, as some Folks suggest, you are quite indisposed to solid Writing, and nothing but Ridicule will go down ; why, as HORACE finely says :

What hinders teaching in a hum'rous Style?  
Or why, dispensing Truths, should we not smile?

I M P O R-



IMPORTANT  
CONSIDERATIONS  
ON THE  
TRUE NATURE  
OF  
GOVERNMENT.

I T is an Observation, which hitherto hath never fail'd me, That a Writer who promises to reveal *Mysteries*, always meets with a good Reception. Such a Promise hath sold many a heavy Comment on the *Revelations*; and serves still as a Passport for a Quarter of a Hundred of Almanacks yearly: So much stronger is Curiosity than Experience. The pious Dr. Henry Moore wrote the *Mystery of Godliness*; and that political (it is ludicrous therefore to call him pious) Prelate *B----r----t*, obliged the World with the *Mystery of Ungodliness reveal'd*. *Mysteries* in State have 'scap'd no better than those in the Church. *Swift* wrote the History of *John Bull*; *Defoe*, that of the *white Staff*; and Mr. *P---*, if he is not sorely bely'd,

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*The Tale of the N-----k Steward.* Precedents enow in Conscience for my attempting to unveil the *Mystery of Patriotism*, by stating truly the Designs of the Opposition.

The *Gazetteers* have, with their usual Stupidity, all along represented the Intentions of those illustrious Persons, to have had nothing more in them than the Removal of their Patron ; a Notion worthy their *Clodpates'* and which, to my very great Surprize, hath been, by Dint of their impudent Assertions, crowded down the Throats of otherwise very intelligent People. Yet, what Probability is there, that so many Persons of Fortune, Family and Figure, so opposite in Sentiments, so divided in Interests, should unite together purely for the Destruction of one Man ? If I could possibly conceive, that any Scribbler in the *Gazetteer* had Wit enough to give the Opposition this Turn, in order to offer Incense to his Protector, I should then admit, that the Flatterer had Address; but I should still pronounce it Flattery, without Hesitation. That the Design of the Opposition, therefore, may no longer be mistaken, and that the good People of *Britain* may understand that the Thing sought is a *Change of Measures*, not of *Men*, is the great Motive to my putting Pen to Paper.

This unaccountable Error of referring to a single Person the Aim of popular Complaints, is far from being of late Date ; and always was an Error, even where it seem'd to have the greatest Appearance of Truth. In the Reign of *Edward the Second*, the *Spencers* were supposed to be the sole *Objects* of *Dislike* ; but it did not prove so in the End. The Duke of *Buckingham* was pointed out as the sole Mark of the Opposition in the Beginning of the Reign of *Charles I.* On this Account his best Actions were more loudly exclaim'd against, than his

his worst ; and he was most vehemently attacked in the House of Commons, for recommending Parliaments, in the gentlest Manner, to his Master. So then ! *Felton*, in ~~sabring~~ the Duke of Buckingham, should have kill'd the Opposition. But no such thing ! One *Stag* kill'd, they had another in full Cry, the Earl of Strafford, because a very great and good Man ; and then it was said, the taking him off was the single Point of the Opposition. That this was in their View, as well as many other Things, is true ; that the King was brought to believe this their sole Aim, is also true enough ; but that it was so, is so far from being a Truth, that all who know the History of those Times, are convinced that it was the errantest Falshood in the World. And that the Earl, in his last Speech, proved himself as true a Prophet as, in his other Speeches, he had proved himself an Orator and a Politician, cannot be doubted : For therein he said, *That the Reformation was not like to end well, which had so ill a Beginning.* Of all these succeeding Mischiefs, the fundamental Mistake, that the King's Minister, and not his Measures, were dislik'd, was the true Cause of those Extremities ; which, had they been discern'd in time, would have been prevented, as the King acknowledged when he came to *die himself* ; and the Parliament too, when *Cromwell kick'd them out of Doors*. Wherefore, in all political Disputes, I conceive it to be a Thing of Importance, that the Terms be well settled, that honest People may know what they are disputing about.

For want of Care in this Point, it has frequently happen'd, that well-meaning People have mistaken their Parties ; and being seduced by Sound, have not only voted, but fought, against their Senses. A melancholy Thing this ! For, as an honest Man never engages himself in any political Quarrel, but from a true Sense of Honour, and the Motion

of a publick Spirit, it is very hard that such a Man should be misled, should be drawn to think either Slavery his Interest, or Rebellion his Duty ; and put on Arms against the Constitution, when he fansies himself engaged *pro Aris & Focis*. It were to be wished, that such Considerations as these might sometimes rise in the Minds of political Authors, and incline them to prefer the Peace and Property, the Lives and Liberties, of their Countrymen, to the Applause of a deluded Multitude, and any Number of Twopences whatsoever. It is very possible, as Experience shews every Day, to confound the Reason, and to practise on the Passions of ordinary People, by which I mean Men of ordinary Capacities, and to bring them to vary in their Opinion, almost on every Subject. But such as have this Power of persuading, are most certainly accountable for the Use they make of it ; and if they would prevent being called to Account by God and the World, they must very severely account for their Purposes to themselves. A Writer who intends fairly to lay before his Readers what to him appears the Truth, acts like a Counsel learned in the Law, who gives his Opinion freely, and in clear Terms ; and is, like him, intitled to Esteem, as well as his Fee. But the Writer who makes use of his Parts to set People together by the Ears, that he may pass for an Orator, or a Politician, or that he may answer any other Purpose, which is purely his own ; such a Man, I say, is on a Par with those Petty-foggers, who prostitute the little Skill they have to the low Purpose of procuring a small Profit from those who are weak enough to trust them ; from which mercenary View they plunge their Clients into such Circumstances, as prove first fatal to them, and then to themselves ; who by thus sacrificing their honest Clients, lose their own Reputation,

tation, and, if I may be allowed the Expression, are pointed at for taking Pains to paint themselves in their true Colours.

It is now some twenty Years ago since the Disputes, which at present run so high, were at first set abroach. I am apt to believe, that the first Authors of them did not well know what they had in View. They saw things which gave them Concern, and they were for having them removed. They mentioned this to others, and met with such favourable Reception, that they carried their Inquiries farther ; and in Consequence thereof, found still new Subjects for Reformation. These they publish'd, sifted and examined ; and, as the Complaints grew, the Party increased in Number, Weight and Interest. Then it was that some Persons, of great political Parts, threw themselves into this Scale, methodized the Thoughts of these moody Men, and taught Discontent to aim at perfecting the Revolution. It has been said, and I believe it may be true, That the great Wit who modelled this Design, trusted the whole of it only with a few, and instructed the Publick but by Piece-meal. In this he acted with due Care and Caution, and with greater Respect to his own Safety than he shew'd on another Occasion, when either the Vigour of his Youth, or an over-rating of his own Power, led him to believe, that whatever he projected, must be void of Peril at least, if not attended with Success. His Miscarriage then, made him more prudent now ; and to the Coolness of his Behaviour, in this Management, we owe that extraordinary Heat with which he inspired his Disciples, and with which they are still like to glow, so long as they have his *Dissertation upon Parties* amongst them.

This celebrated Piece, like most other celebrated Pieces, hath had very different Fates. Some have cry'd

cry'd it up to the *Skies*; others have fansied it  
 fetch'd from the Depth of *Hell*. A certain Au-  
 thor says, " It has been read with Horror and  
 " Amazement; that so beautiful a Composition  
 " should contain the deepest and blackest Designs  
 " against his Fellow-creatures, that were ever  
 " contrived by an apostate Politician." One Set  
 of Men, indeed, regard it as a *political Bible*; while,  
 to others, it seems no better than the *Koran*. In  
 short, there are who think it a *Palladium*; and  
 there are who believe it a *Trojan Horse*: All agree,  
 however, that it is extremely well written; that  
 there is Spirit, Argument, and fine Language, in  
 this Performance; but still the Doubt remains,  
 Whether it came from a real Angel, or from one  
 transformed into an Angel of Light. This is the  
 Dispute which we shall endeavour to clear. It is  
 a Rule given us, by an infallible Judge of Men  
 and Things; infallible, I say, in the Opinion of  
*Protestants*, as well as *Papists*; *That the Tree is to*  
*be known by the Fruit*; and therefore my Rule of  
 Judging, in this respect, is, *That the Merit of the*  
*Book may be best settled from its Doctrines*. If,  
 therefore, these are right; if they are consistent  
 with our Constitution; if they tend to promote  
 Liberty, to preserve Property, and to keep strictly  
 united, our Sovereign and his People; why then  
 the Dissertation ought to be agreeable to all Par-  
 ties; if otherwise, to none. But, previous to the  
 stating the Doctrine contained in this Book, it will  
 be necessary to say something of the late Revolu-  
 tion: For the illustrious Author makes that the  
 Basis of all his Reasonings, as shall be fully prov'd  
 hereafter: Whence it follows, that to understand  
 them, we must have a true Notion of this. We  
 must know what the Revolution was; how it came  
 about; and what was propos'd thereby: After which,  
 it will be the less difficult to form a true and certain  
 Judg-

Judgment on the *Dissertation upon Parties*, or, in other Words, on the Merits of the present Opposition, on the Patriotism of the present Times, and what is like to be the Fate of our Country.

By the Word *Revolution*, taken in a natural Sense, we mean a total Change ; and when taken in a political or historical Sense, we mean that Change, that great Change, that was made here in 1688. Now to understand what this Change was, we must remember, that King *James II.* retiring out of the Kingdom, the Convention then sitting, and acting as the supreme Authority, declared this Retreat to be an *Abdication*, a deserting of his Throne, which they voted to be empty, and at the same time invited *William and Mary*, Prince and Princess of *Orange*, to fill it. They accepting this Invitation, became *King and Queen* ; and were as such acknowledged, by the Names of King *William III.* and Queen *Mary II.* Such was the *Revolution*. This was effected, first, by the *Retreat* of King *James* ; secondly, by the *Declaration* of the *Convention* ; and, thirdly, by the *Acceptation* of King *William* and Queen *Mary*. Now, as to the End proposed, it was, in those Days, understood to be the Resettlement of the Government. It must be so understood: For the Vote of Abdication is a clear and indubitable Proof, that it was the Opinion of the Convention, that the executive Part of the Government could not be legally executed, because the Throne was empty ; and for the sake of affording Protection to the People, as well as of doing Justice to the *Prince and Princess of Orange*, they called them to the Succession of the Crown ; and this Point once settled, the new King and Queen, by virtue of their Prerogative, called Parliaments for the future, enacted Laws, and did all other things that Sovereigns might do heretofore. And therefore their putting the Wheel of Government again .

again into Motion, seems to have been the End of calling their *Highnesses* to the Enjoyment of the Crown, and consequently the great End of the Revolution.

Most true it is, that the Expedition of the Prince of Orange was undertaken at the Request of the Nation ; and that, after he became King, many things were done for securing the Liberties of the English People. The Author of the *Dissertation upon Parties* is of Opinion, that, at the Revolution, we had not only a new King, but a new Constitution. He states this very clearly, p. 164. in the first *Octavo* Edition ; and there tells us, That the Institution of a King of Britain is plainly conditional ; and that he may forfeit his Right to Allegiance, as undeniably and as effectually, as the Subject may forfeit his Right to Protection. This is his great Position ; and the next Thing he insists upon is, That though there was a new Constitution begun at the Revolution, yet it is not finished yet. The Body of the Structure is indeed completed ; but it still stands in need of several Additions : which it must owe, it seems, to our Care. This was a Task left to future Patriots to perform : A sacred Trust reposed in them, which they are not to neglect. And the main Intent of this celebrated Work is to put them in mind of this Trust, to point out the Means of executing it, and to prevent their languishing in the Discharge of so glorious a Labour. Here lies the Merit of that Performance ; and this is the true Reason why it is so much applauded, so warmly recommended, and so strictly followed, by his Associates.

According to the Plan of this illustrious Author, Patriots are a kind of political Architects, who have a Right, at all Times, to survey the Constitution ; and if they find, or conceive they find, any thing amiss therein, they are immediately, with  
the

the Assistance of the People to mend it. When we consider things in this Light, we cannot but see that here is Provision made for a perpetual Succession of Patriots, and perpetual Employment found for them. They are to act as Curators for the People, unless at any time the People should be wise enough to act for themselves, and there to keep the Power of Kings, and their Ministers, within proper Bounds. In pursuance of this Plan, we have every Year, since the Publication of that Book, had some Scheme or other offered for pulling down and rebuilding some Part of the Constitution. It is true, that none of these Schemes have been accepted ; but that was the Fault of those to whom they were proposed ; nobody can say the Patriots have been wanting in their Duty. If the executive, as well as the inventing Part, had depended upon them, we should have seen our old Constitution adorned with many a new Turret by this time. But if a Crew of old-fashion'd People will not be advised, if they will be fond of Inconveniences merely because they found them there when they came ; if they will not listen to Men of Taste, who never so much as talk of any thing but the Sciences ; why they must have their own way, and there is no Help for it. But still the Patriots have this in Reserve, they may continue either drawing up new Schemes, or reviving the old ; they may shew these to all Persons of Penetration, point out the Absurdities they would remove, the Advantages they woudl procure, and the additional Graces these Alterations would give to the whole Structure. This they may do, and this they have been doing, and with all the Success too, that in one Sense they could desire : For all but the indolent, and the illiterate, all but such as are bewitched with the Love of old Customs, and old Buildings, who prefer Ease to Elegance, and

Quiet to Politeness, are come into their way of thinking, and long, from the Bottom of their Hearts, to see the Changes they would make.

These Notions are far from being peculiar, either to our Age or Country. A Desire of altering the Constitution, or, which is the same thing, of changing it for the better, hath sprung up under all Constitutions, as I shall shew. The Jewish Frame of Government was by divine Appointment ; and perhaps, if *Moses* had not told us so, it might have been gathered by the Light of Reason : Yet neither its Excellence, nor its divine Original, preserved it. There were some Men desirous of innovating ; these Men were abetted by the People, and then a Change became necessary : But did it last long upon this new Model ? So far from it, that it is not possible to specify five Years of Quiet, from the Establishment of Monarchy, to the Division of the Kingdom, the true Cause of its Ruin. Among the Greek Republicks there were the same Emotions, and the whole Face of Things frequently changed, as the Constitutions of particular States were in a perpetual Fluctuation. *Athens* was first an *absolute Monarchy*, then a *limited one*, afterwards a *Tyranny*, and at last a *Commonwealth*. *Lacedemon* also altered her Form of Government more than once ; and yet, what is still more extraordinary, one of the great Motives to the *Peloponnesian War*, was the Desire that each of these two States had to establish its then Form of Rule in all other Places ; which was as plainly political Enthusiasm, as the Expeditions to *Palestine* were the Effects of an Enthusiasm of another Nature. Nor could we easily credit these Facts, if we had not in our own Time Men of such sublime Notions, as to think we might justly make War on the *French*, till they agreed to make their *Parliaments* like ours. The

*Romans*

Romans had the same Notions ; they were sometimes delighted with one Form of Government, and sometimes with another. But I think one thing is certain, that Historians have agreed to represent those Men as Patriots, who were for a Change. A modest Man would be hard put to it to distinguish, whether *Marius* or *Sylla*, *Cæsar* or *Pompey*, were the honestest Men. But an impudent Fellow would perhaps come as near the Truth, tho' he might be wide of good Manners, in saying they were all Rogues alike, and that they were very lucky in finding so many thousand Fools who thought them otherwise, and who took their bare Words, that cutting Throats was the Way to publick Peace ; and plundering each other's Houses, the Means of preserving Property.

While these Stories are read at School, while the setting them in a clear Light ss the Business of an Historian, and the writing Commentaries upon them as *Machiavel* did, is sufficient to make a Man a Politician, Inquiries of this Sort will be of more Importance, and come much nearer our own Concerns, than most Men may imagine : For if a Lad, till grown to sixteen Years of Age, be taught to admire a Commonwealth ; if Men of tolerable Parts read the *Greek* and *Latin* Clasicks in Preference to all other Books ; and if in all Disputes about Government, we receive Quotations from them as Oracles ; then our frequent Uneasinesses may without Difficulty be accounted for, tho' it may remain a Point of great Intricacy to determine the proper Mode of Cure. Men imitate whom they admire, not those whom they contemn ; and where a restless, stirring, and turbulent Temper constitutes an heroick Disposition, Quiet and Industry will be rarely found.

If we apply these Principles to the Conduct of our own Nation, we shall find new Evidence of

their Truth. These Sort of Studies grew fashionable in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, but not till she was thoroughly seated in the Throne, till she had acquired a great Reputation, and a very extensive Authority. After her Demise, haranguing became fashionable ; her Successor delighted in Speeches and Proclamations, and this made the Growth of the fashionable Learning very quick ; so that by the next Reign, we had gained much in Eloquence, tho' we had lost as much in Quiet. In King *Charles's* Parliaments, Speaking was more minded than Acting ; and while the Court Party pursued their darling Point of establishing the Re-titude of arbitrary Power in Speculation, which was vehemently, as well as justly, opposed by the true Patriots, and the opposite Scheme set up and fiercely maintained by those who called themselves so, the People were lost in the Quarrel, their Interest neglected, and themselves subjected to sharp Sufferings. The King, listening to one Set of Disputants, grew out of Love with Parliaments, which for that very Reason grew more into the good Graces of those who hated his Proceedings ; while the Feeling of the People rendered them susceptible of any Impressions, and hindered them from discerning their Errors, till it was too late. Often since then we have been in the same State ; and by turning publick Assemblies into a kind of publick Schools, where Debates are more regarded than Resolutions, we have seen the Parts of the better Sort of our Countrymen highly improved, while the Condition of the lower Sort of People grew daily worse and worse. But from Generals let us descend once again to Particulars.

The first great Point in Dispute between the Parties, which at present divide us, is the Duration of Parliaments. Some think that *septennial* Parliaments are most wholesome, and these have the pre-  
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sent Constitution on their Side. Others are for *triennial* or *annual* Parliaments, and these, say they, have the People on their Side. This is a Point neither Party inclines to give up, and of Consequence, this is one of the Points which serves to perpetuate Party Spirit and Prejudice.

The celebrated Author of the Dissertation upon Parties, is very clear in this Point. He makes our having *triennial* Parliaments, one great End of the Revolution; yet I think there was a Law for *triennial* Parliaments in the Reign of King *Charles I.* and I have seen a Declaration of King *James II.* after his Abdication, wherein, among other Promises made to the People of *England*, there is one relating to Parliaments. Thus it is evident, take what Steps you will, there may be Grievances, or pretended Grievances, upon this Head. It was after the *Revolution*, that *triennial* Parliaments were settled. The same Authority afterwards settled *septennial* Parliaments; and this Authority must resettle *triennial* ones, if ever we have them All Parties therefore must agree in this, that the Duration of Parliament, as settled by Parliament, is legal, that is to say, it is as legal as any other Law to which the Submission of every Subject is required; otherwise we never were right, nor ever can be so. Such therefore as would persuade us, that the People have some indefeasible Right to *triennial* or *annual* Parliaments, they only do it to deceive and delude their Fellow-subjects, to serve their own private Ends and Purposes. If we follow such airy Notions, we shall in time run into very miry Paths, and Confusion. As the King cannot violate the Constitution on his side, so the People cannot violate it on theirs. As a Minister would deserve to lose his Head, who should assert any Right in the Crown to continue a Parliament contrary to the present Establishment, so a Man richly deserves

deserves the ignominious Death of being hang'd, who would put the People upon acting contrary to that Establishment, upon his bare Suggestion, that it might be for their Good. Neither is the Consequence of this Question so great as that of another, which is seldom asked ; viz. Why Men are more concerned to vindicate their speculative Nations about Government in Parliament, than to do the Nation's Business ? *Rome* was best governed when her Senators made the worst Speeches. The Harangues in *Salust* are very fine, but the *Romans* were very miserable when they were made. We ought to estimate Parliaments by the Acts, and not by the Speeches made in them ; and when we censure or commend a Sessions, we should do it from the *Statute Book*, rather than from the *Magazines*. I say this as an *Englishman*, and a Friend to the People, not as a Patriot ; for that is a lost Word. It is gone over to *Cavalier* and *Round-head*, and twenty other Denominations, which sound well in the Mouth, ring pleasantly in the Ear, but signify nobody knows what, because with different People they have different Significations.

When the Matter I have hinted at is duly minded, when Things are more heeded than Words, and those who represent the People, manifest their kind Intentions towards them by doing them Good, then it will be safe to revive the old Question, Whether *triennial* or *septennial* Parliaments be preferable ? For then Gentlemen will be disposed to enter into the Merits of the thing, rather than amuse themselves with plausible Disputes. This was the Method in *Rome*, while the Majority of the *Romans* kept their Wits ; when the Agitation of any political Point begat Tumult and Faction, why then the Dispute was laid aside, till the Minds of Men were cool, and in a more proper Temper for deciding. But when frequent Factions had disordered

disordered the first Principles of Government, as frequent Diseases will break the best Constitution, then this Method was left off, and I need not say what ensued.

The candid Reader, I am sure, will observe, that I act upon my own Principles, and do not offer any Sentiments on the Duration of Parliaments at all. This too, I think, is acting like an *Englishman*; for, whatever other People may think, every true *Englishman* will find, that there are Things of much greater Moment to him, than political Disputes. But if we go on as we have for some Years past, this will not be the Case. I am now going to open a great Mystery; and according to what I have laid down in the Beginning of this Piece, I doubt not of a good Reception; which is, That political Disputes will then be every private Man's Business. Our Welfare will then no longer depend either on Industry or on Trade, but on the Prevalence of one Party. What a mighty Figure do the *Athenians* make in the Writings of *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, when they gave Laws to *Greece*, and Examples to Mankind? And what a strange Figure do the same People make in the Writings of *St. Luke*, wherein they are represented as *busy in nothing but hearing of News, in asking and in resolving Questions*. Heretofore there were not a dozen People in this great City interested in publick Papers, and now there are Hundreds. What is the Consequence? Why, in those Days, we had plain simple Facts delivered in few Words; and now we have abundance of fine Writing, and hardly any Facts at all. Many a Man now subsists by the Disputes in Being: He can tell what Debate bought him a Suit of Cloaths, and by what national Point he carried his last new Periwig. What if this should become general? Of old *Britons*, we should become new *Athenians*. I do not say this

to wound particular Persons, or to turn any Set of Men into Ridicule ; but I say it to prevent such Scribblers from turning their Country to a Scene of Confusion, and setting honest People together by the Ears. We are visibly less careful, and less industrious, than our Forefathers ; and where's the Wonder of it ? Have we not twenty new Diversions set up to debauch our Minds ? And half a score new Papers to distract our Heads ? Is there a Tradesman, by reading all the News-papers at the Coffee-house, and by Arguments held there, who is not self-convinced that he ought to be employed in amending Affairs of State ? And are not the Apprentices, and Maid-servants, all Politicians, by the Assistance of the Farthing and Halfpenny Posts, as well as Lawyers Clerks, and other Juniors, who take upon them to censure the Legislature ? Courtiers impute this to the licentious Writings of the Malecontents ; the Malecontents throw back the Charge on the Courtiers. But the diffusive Evil gnaws us, while they divert themselves at Shuttlecock. In Politicks, as well as natural Cases, while Doctors differ, the Patient dies. I can scarce command my Pen to write, that this is our Case !

Next to Parliaments, the Power of the Sword is a capital Point. Those who sent *Cæsar* from *Rome*, were wise ; but their Wisdom did not seem to serve them, when they left him the *supreme* Command in *Gaul*. We know very well, that the long Continuance, and various Fortune, of those called the *Barons Wars*, were entirely owing to both Parties having the Power of the Sword. Our old Tenures, though they were intended only to arm great Lords in the Service of their Prince, yet by the Help of certain Distinctions, they frequently served to bring Armies into the Field against him. *Henry VII.* found out the Means of redressing this Mischief,

Mischief, and of wresting the Sword out of the Barons Hands. Accordingly, in his Son's Time, we find Lords heading Insurrections of the People ; and so things have continued ever since ; and so they must ever continue : for, literally, the Sword can never be wrested out of the People's Hands. In the Disputes between King *Charles I.* and his Parliament, the Militia was a strongly contested Point. The King believed, that if he gave it up, he gave up his Authority ; and the Parliament were persuaded, that if they had it not, they should not support their own. On the Restoration, this Point was determined in Favour of the Crown : But as the ill Use the Crown made of this Determination, was one of the great Causes of the Revolution ; since then a Medium hath been found, whereby the Honour of the Crown is secured, without endangering the People ; that Force which is necessary to be kept up for the Defence of both, is dependent upon both. The King raises, and the People, or the Representatives of the People, may, if they please, disband them. They annually consider their Necessity, and their Number ; they judge of both, before they acquiesce in providing for their Pay. The King commands these Forces ; but then, as in his civil Capacity, he commands for the Benefit of his People ; or, in other Words, he directs what one Part of his Subjects shall do for the Good of the Whole. We say, the *King's Forces*, as we say the *King's Laws*, and the *King's Judges*. But we mean, that they are the *People's Laws*, and the *People's Judges*, in another Sense ; and in that Sense the *Forces* are so too.

However, the Disciples of the great Writer I have so often mention'd, think in another way ; that is to say, they think, that even in this respect, the King has too great Power ; they have expressed as much, more than once, in their Writings ; and, which is

much more, they have expressed it in their Actions. They were once for making the Army one of the Estates; and they still have it in View to make some Alteration in this Point; with a View to the People's Good, no Doubt. Yet I have heard wise Men doubt, whether, if it took Place, it would do Good to the People. I do not pretend to discuss this Question either; tho' I think it somewhat clearer than the other, because there is a more evident Connection between People and Parliaments, than between the People and the Army. But a very ill Use has been made of this Dispute: For, in the Course of it, great Pains has been taken to infuse into the People a Hatred of the Army, which must beget a Hatred in the Army; and I have no Inclination to christen any of the more remote Descendants of Discord in this Line. Let them that like them, give them Names. But sure I am, that to bid People fall out about the Colour of their Cloaths, is not reconcilable to Reason, Law or Gospel; nor shall I easily be made believe that such Men intend their Country well, as endeavour to create ill Blood among their Countrymen. If we look upon the Protests against the Number of Forces kept up by Authority of Parliament, and compare the Names with the Lists of general Officers in subsequent Times, when more Troops were kept up, we shall find such a Conformity as will incline us to doubt, whether those that are called Reasons ought not rather to be styled Colours of Reason. The Fate of a Nation is quite a different thing from the Fate of a Party. A Party may perish, and the Nation be safe: And therefore it is for the sake of the Nation that I sometimes take the Mask of a Party. We may be talked into a Rebellion; but Talking will not alter the Nature of a Rebellion; nay, perhaps, while we are fighting in Defence of their Opinions, some of

of these fine Folks may alter them of their own Accords, and may employ their Eloquence in distinguishing our Title to a Halter. The People of *England*, and the People who compose the Army, are the same People; nor is it possible, that the Army should be brought to fight against the People, unless the People and they are first estranged from each other. All true Friends to their Country, therefore, will endeavour to prevent this. In our last civil Wars, the Soldiers of Fortune, on the King's Side, and Men of desperate Fortunes on the Parliament's Side, kept up the War. Had it not been for this, Brother would not have fought against Brother, or Father against Son, as they actually did. Our Safety consists in being defended by an Army of our Countrymen, commanded by Men of Family and Fortune, and under the Direction of the Legislature. Whoever attempts to lessen this Security, by changing the Situation of any of the Parties, is an Enemy to the People of *England*, whatever he may pretend. A Robber is not an honest Man, even if he returns what he has stolen: And so that Person is no Friend to his Country, who puts things wrong, in order to have the Honour of setting them right again. How just this Discourse of mine may appear, at the time of its Publication, I cannot tell; but sure I am, that if it had been publish'd just a hundred Years ago, it might have prevented a great deal of Bloodshed. For then Thousands of sober People acted as if they had been mad; and some of their Descendants, for ought I know, may, at this Day, be in the same Disposition.

There is a third Point, which must not be forgotten, and that is, the Revenue of the Crown. It must be owned, that there is a great Difference between the present Revenue of the Crown, and the Revenue of the Crown in former Times. In

ancient Times, there was a great Estate belonging to the Crown, of which little now remains. There were many Tenures, very beneficial to the Crown, which are now taken away ; and there were various Rights vested in the Crown, which have been since disposed of. Thus the old Revenue of the Crown, which was hereditary, was lost ; and in lieu thereof, certain Grants, of a determin'd Value, were made by Parliament ; and these Grants have been regulated according to the Circumstances of Times, and of the Royal Families. But, by the way, as the Civil List is granted to the King by his People, so a great Part of it is expended for their immediate Service : And though it is, properly enough, called the *Royal Revenue* ; yet it is, as properly, a Revenue assign'd for the Support of the executive Part of Government. Every body knows, that the great Officers of State are called the *People's Servants*, as well as the *King's*. And is there any Hardship that the People should pay their Servants Wages ? As to the remaining Part of the Civil List, it is granted for the Maintenance of the Royal Dignity, according to the Royal Discretion ; which is no more than is done in *Poland*, where the People are by no means famous for any extravagant Acts of Loyalty ; though they are seldom known to grudge a King his Revenue, provided he is content with that. They know, and every body must know, that if the Regal Dignity be not supported, the Inconveniences, even to the People, will be greater than if it was ; wherefore a Settlement, in this respect, is equally necessary and expedient ; necessary, because the executive Part of Government, which chiefly concerns the People, could not be carried on without it ; and expedient, because a Monarchy would neither be safe nor honourable, which had a narrow or precarious Revenue.

Such

Such as have expressed a Dissatisfaction, with respect to the present Civil List, have suggested two Dangers therefrom. The one, The King's becoming arbitrary ; the other, The corrupting of the People. Now I pretend not to subvert this Opinion ; but I say, that, for the present, such Disputes would be better waved ; and that for these two Reasons : *First*, Because streightening the King in his Revenue is, in its Nature, as dangerous, and, in Appearance, more likely to produce very ill Effects : So that, to avoid *Scylla*, we might run upon *Charybdis*. And, *Secondly*, Setting up such Pretensions to the established Rights of the Crown, is unsettling our Constitution ; and might beget, in some future Prince, a Desire of being arbitrary, that he might be safe. There is a Time when such Inquiries are proper ; and then I am for making them fairly and candidly : But when this Time is past, I am afraid of the Consequences of such extraordinary Inquiries ; and I am the more so, because I do not see any extraordinary good Effects they can have. In the mean time, Discourses of this kind serve to alarm and disturb the People ; who cannot be half so much hurt by any Error made in the Grant of the Civil List, as by turning their Heads, by political Scarecrows, and making them forget their private Business, under Pretence of looking after that of the Publick ; which, however, is seldom much the better for such sort of Inquiries. Without mentioning any more Reasons, I think I may safely conclude, that a Man who has nothing more at Heart than the general Good of himself and his Countrymen, will think, that, as things now stand, this matter is not fit for a popular Debate.

To enter upon other Heads of Inquiry, is needless for the present ; for evident it is, that these three have kept Men in a continual Ferment for many

many Years, and are like to keep them so for many Years longer, unless they shall be wise enough to perceive, that it is our Interest to let them rest for a Time, and to betake ourselves to what more immediately concerns us. But it may be, perhaps, asked, What can more immediately concern us? Fair and softly. An Answer shall be given to this in due Time: At present I must insist on this Matter a little farther. That Parliaments should be frequent and free, is undoubtedly a Point of the greatest Consequence. That the People should not be govern'd by a military Force, or be aw'd, like the *Turks*, by Janizaries, is of the utmost Consequence. That a just Proportion should be settled between the Royal Revenue, and the Income of the Nation, is most just and reasonable. The Patriots, therefore, who take a great deal of Pains in explaining these Things, in amplifying and adorning them, do not make them more evident at all to Persons of Consideration and good Sense; but by endeavouring to represent the Means of settling these Points in such a Light, as renders them inconsistent with the Constitution, they leave us no other Choice, than Distraction or Rebellion; and really I am for advising the People to neither. It is true, it has been intimated, that if some People were in Power, they would make all things wear a new Face. I cannot tell, but that it might be so; but I do not think the People have either Right or Reason to force these People into Places; nor do I think it expedient, because the same Ends may be attained an easier, a more certain, and much safer way; and the Consideration of this I look upon as a Matter of the greatest Importance; and therefore in stating it, I presume, I shall fully answer the before-mentioned Question.

In Times past, I mean in Times especially since the Reformation, the two great Points the People had in View, were civil and religious Liberty. The great Queen *Elizabeth* had carried the Prerogative very high, without talking of it, and under Pretence of doing all Things for the People's Service. She did this chiefly in virtue of her Parsimony. For the common People measure the Worth of a Government by the Lightness of the Loads laid upon them. Her Successors, by their too great Indulgence to Favourites, put themselves under a Necessity of stretching their Prerogative, and of avowing all their Acts of Power ; which took from the People Hope, as well as their Money. If they complain'd, they suffer'd severely in those Courts where they ought to have met with Protection ; and it was easier, in the Star-chamber, to escape from a Prosecution for an evil Act committed, than for a rash Expression, tho' spoken on the utmost Provocation. All who have read the *English History* know, that it was a Sense of these Mischiefs which enabled the Parliament to carry on their War, with Success, against the King ; and that it was the extravagant Demands of Power, made by King *James II.* which lost him the Confidence of his People. On the other hand, from the Reformation to the Revolution, we were never free from religious Discords. Queen *Elizabeth* hang'd *Puritans* ; King *James* wrote against them, and persecuted them : Under King *Charles* the Church was triumphant, and the *Dissenters* miserable. During the *Interregnum* the Church was persecuted ; on the Restoration, Churchmen persecuted in their Turns. *James II.* taught the Church and the Dissenters to unite, by putting them both in Danger. Now what can we suppose our Ancestors, who lived in those Times, would have desired more, than to see themselves freed from

from the Rod of Prerogative, and ecclesiastick Scourges? They were far from disliking the Constitution, from contemning the Laws, or hating their Ministers; and they were much farther still from Impiety and Irreligion. We cannot therefore imagine, that they proposed any thing further to themselves, than living every Man under his own Vine, and under his own Fig-tree, with the happy Privilege of worshipping God according to the Dictates of their Consciences, in Spirit and in Truth, the way which he has declared to be acceptable to him.

Now this that our Fathers hoped, we actually enjoy; and we not only owe it to ourselves, and to our Posterity, but we likewise owe it to the Cause of Religion, of Virtue and Liberty, to make a right Use of this Blessing, and not to give injurious Senses to Words sacred in the Mouths of our Ancestors. I must speak plainly; we must cautiously distinguish between Liberty and Licentiousness; a Freedom from the arbitrary Power of Man, and the setting at nought the necessary Authority of the Law. It was the former, for which our good old Patriots wish'd, wrote, and warred. I will not say the latter was the Object of their Hatred; because I doubt whether ever it was the Object of their Thoughts. They were Men of too much Sense and Virtue, to suspect that any of their Posterity should be Beasts enough to mistake savage Wildness for human Liberty. On the other hand, we must constantly distinguish between religious Freedom, and being free from all Religion. We must remember what extraordinary Things we have sanctified with the Name of the *Protestant Cause*, and have a just Fear of giving the World room to suspect, that we are, at Bottom, worse Protestants than we would seem. That noble Badge of our Religion signifies a Protesting against

against the Errors of Popery, not against the Essentials of Christianity: And if, after fighting so long against the Tyranny of Men in Religion, we should ever think of excluding the sacred Authority of God, to follow our own Chimeras, Experience would quickly teach us, that Irreligion, Superstition and Slavery, how remote soever we may think them, are really contiguous to each other; a Discovery which might come too late for a Remedy.

The true Method, therefore, of answering the Ends of the Revolution, is to return to those Sentiments, on which the Revolution was grounded; that is, to resume our ancient Respect and Veneration for the Laws, and our hearty and sincere Zeal for the Protestant Religion. This would banish the Corruption, which, though it is declaimed against by all Parties, is, by all Parties, encouraged. It would bring back Sobriety, Industry, and publick Spirit, which formerly flourish'd amongst us, and which have been depreciated, and, in a manner, excluded, by false Notions of Liberty and Politeness. It is in vain to expect such a Reformation, either from the Influence of the Government, or from the Acts of the Legislature. It must come from ourselves, from a thorough Conviction of the Mischiefs and Miseries induced by slighting Laws human and divine. If the Government should interpose, a Disposition to check Vice would immediately be called, *A Design to destroy Freedom*; and the People would be encouraged to arm in Defence of their Follies, as they were to mob in the Cause of *Gin*. To expect any thing from the Legislature, before a Spirit of Reformation becomes general, must flow from want of Penetration. The Representatives of a People will resemble the People they represent. This then is that short, that certain, that easy Method, which

I proposed, and which can alone answer the End. It is short, because it depends upon us to let it take Place: It is certain, because no Power can hinder it: It is easy, for it rests upon our Will. I shall carry this still farther, and shew, that such a general Disposition in the People of Britain would set aside those three Questions, which have so long perplexed us, and which are as likely to perplex us as ever.

For, *first*, with respect to Parliaments: If the Body of Electors were but Men of Probity, and thoroughly in their Senses, they would so order their Choice, that it would depend upon themselves, whether they should have *annual*, *triennial*, or *septennial* Parliaments. If Faction were extinct, all Questions on this Head must cease: And while Faction continues, they never will. A Man who encourages Discord, Party Prejudice, and private Dependence, in his own Election, may give himself Airs of Patriotism in the House, and talk either for or against *septennial* Parliaments, as his Interests lead him: But at the Bottom, he must be sensible, that his own Conduct would make *annual* Parliaments the greatest Grievance; and where there is no Conformity between the Tongue and the Heart, a Man is like to do his Country but little Service. But if, laying aside all Influence, Men of Fortune would rely on the Affections of their Countrymen, or their Countrymen would have Spirit enough to think Obedience due only to God and the Constitution, the Reason of the *septennial* Act would cease, and it would be repealed, not as a Grievance, but as a Restriction now become useless.

The same Thing would necessarily happen with respect to the Army. A Spirit of Sobriety and Religion, if it once appeared in the Nation, would quickly diffuse itself among them. There is nothing immoral

immoral in the Profession of Arms ; nor are Soldiers, properly consider'd, the least useful Members to Society. But let us admit it might be otherwise : A sober, religious and free People can never be awed by an Army. We see this experimentally in the *Swiss*, who are formidable, even to the most Powerful of their Neighbours, not because they are *numerous*, but because they are *free* and *brave* ; which is the Consequence of their being untainted with our *alamode* Notions. In short, a Spirit of Virtue and Industry would make a great Part of the Army needless, and rid us of all Apprehensions of the Remainder : Whereas, if we grow more and more licentious, Tumults and Seditions will necessarily be more frequent. This will shew the Necessity of Soldiers in a stronger Light ; bring the civil Authority under too great a Dependence on the military Arm, and thereby endanger that Liberty, which our Fathers transmitted to us, and which we pretend to be so fond of.

As to the King's Revenue again, it would not be dangerous, how much soever mistaken in Proportion ; because it would want proper Subjects to work upon. For though it be true, that universal Virtue is not to be expected ; yet if a few only are corrupted, they will be considered in the Light of Minions ; and *such* our English History shews to have been much more dangerous to their Masters, *than to his Subjects*. Besides, we should, in this Case, be sure of having this Matter set right the next Opportunity ; which would be sufficient to quiet the Minds of all prudent and well-meaning Men.

I am very sensible, that Schemes of this Sort may seem chimerical ; and that our modern Politicians will style all Exhortations of this Cast, empty Declamations, flowing from a Spirit of political Me-

thodism. But, by their Leave, Ridicule in this Case will not do the Turn: If this Scheme is impracticable, let them shew us one that is not so; otherwise they will make Amendment a thing impracticable; and consequently the best thing we can do is, to continue quietly as we are. Now, for any Methods they have offer'd for these twenty Years, they have certainly been utterly impracticable. I do not say this, because they have been rejected in a certain Place; but because they have produced no Effects upon themselves. If the Principles they promote had any real Efficacy, we should see it in their Practice. In religious Matters, we suspect the Man of Hypocrisy, who leads an ill Life with a good Creed. Now I see no Reason why this should not hold in Politicks, or why we should take a Man's Word, that he is a Patriot in Contradiction to his Behaviour. A Man out of Power, may express his Patriotism as well as if he was in; he may live much upon his Estate; shew great Kindness to his Tenants; promote the Welfare of a neighbouring Town; contribute to publick Works; discourage Immorality and Vice, and shew an absolute Disinterestedness where-ever his Property obliges him to meddle with Elections, or other publick Affairs. The true Patriot will shew his Principles in this manner; and the false one will shew his want of them. If, therefore, all the strong Things that have been said and written in Support of what, of late Years, have been styled Patriot Principles, no Spirit has appear'd conformable to such Principles, in the Actions of those who pretended to them; then may it be fairly concluded, that their Scheme is impracticable. I will now prove, that mine is not so enthusiastick, or so little to be expected ever to take place, as they would represent it.

We observe, in private Men, that if they who have good Sense, are capable of thinking seriously at Times, they never fail to get the better of their Passions at last ; though they may be hurried into great Inconveniences by them for a Time. The same may be observ'd of whole Nations : They act according to their Prejudices, and in spite of all the good Advice that can be given them for a certain Space ; and then Experience having convinced them of their Error, they fail not of changing their Conduct, and applying to their true Interests. There are many Instances, in the *Greek* and *Roman* Histories, of this ; but without ascending so high, we need only remark, that though never any Nation acted more enthusiastically than the *French*, in the Days of the *League* ; yet, in the Space of a few Years, their Sentiments were generally changed ; and the Death of *Henry IV.* was as much lamented, as his Accession had been opposed. Our own Chronicles afford many Testimonies of the same Thing ; so many, that it would be tedious to repeat them. If therefore Reason teaches us, that a wise and thinking People, as the *English* have always been reputed, may be expected, on a View of the Evils brought upon themselves by the Indulgence of a petulant Party Spirit, to drop this manner of Acting, and endeavour, by their future Prudence, to remedy the Mistakes they formerly fell into : And if Experience likewise demonstrates that, in former Times, they have done this, Why are the Schemes I offer to be look'd on either enthusiastick or impracticable ? Is not this grossly insulting the *English* Nation ? Is it not treating them as a Crew of abandon'd People, capable of any sort of Mischief for the present, and incapable of Amendment for the future ? Shall we esteem such Writers Patriots, as paint their Countrymen in these Colours ?

In the Papers or Pamphlets written to favour the Interests of a certain Set of Men, we may meet with a Multitude of Circumstances relating to the Mischiefs which within these few Years have fallen upon our Country ; and tho' it cannot be deny'd, that there is a large Measure of Falshood and Exaggeration in these Representations, yet it must likewise be owned, that there are many Truths. Now if these Truths were set in a clear and plain Light, if the People of *Britain* were honestly and candidly told what their real Grievances are, and whence they have sprung, I think I may fairly say, that they would have Sense enough to receive such a Report, and to make a proper Use of it. Something of this Sort there was done at the Revolution ; and in order to have an Idea of such a Representation as I have mentioned, we need only read over the *Claim of Rights*, and we shall there see a Precedent for resettling at any Time the Minds of the People, and restoring whatsoever is disordered in the Frame of our Constitution. But, previous to any thing of this Sort, Party Spirit must some way or other be extinguished, and the Nation in general must be, as it then was, inclined to come at Truth, and not to receive, on the Credit of any Set of Men, what they would have pass for Truth : Of which we may also see the Danger, if we will take the Pains of comparing the State this Nation was in, in the first Years of King *William's* Reign, and in the latter End thereof, when Corruption was epidemick ; when all Degrees of People seem'd to have sold themselves to do Evil ; and when the whole Force of the Legislature was exerted in vain to detect the Sources of these Mischiefs, or to prevent their Consequences. All this is fully enough set forth in Bishop *Kennet's* History, and ought to give honest considerate Men the greatest Aversion for that Spirit

rit which some Men are at such Pains to propagate in our Times.

But it may be said, that these are dark and obscure Hints, and that it becomes a Man who really means his Country well, to speak out plainly in Matters of such Importance. Well then! I am content to do, what false Patriots never do; I will speak gravely, freely, and without Reserve of that Spirit which I just now mentioned. Every intelligent Reader must remember, that in certain political Papers, which have been for some Years circulated amongst us, a Spirit of Liberty, a Spirit of Jealousy, a Spirit of Inquiry, hath been recommended. Now, tho' I pretend to no extraordinary Gift in discerning of Spirits, yet am I confident, that this is no other than a Spirit of Faction, that evil Spirit, which, if it once possesses a Nation, tears and distorts it, leads it into barren Places, and throws it now into the Water, and now into the Fire, as the Dæmons did Men possessed at the first preaching of the Gospel. Neither are we to be surprised, that this is called a Spirit of Liberty. All evil Spirits affect to appear like Angels of Light; nor would a Faction be able to draw in Voluntiers, if in beating up for them it owned the Name of a Faction. But the way that this Spirit is to be distinguished, is plainly this: By its principally intending the Service of a Part only of the Nation, and not of the Whole. For we are to observe, that the first Fruits of this Spirit are not a general Reformation, but a Change of Persons in Authority; upon which we are told, that such a Reformation would immediately follow; but we are only told this; we have neither Reason to believe it, nor any who will be bound for its Truth. I shall hereafter carry this farther, and shew that it cannot be true; and that if we go on to encourage this lying Spirit, it will lead us from

one Change to another, till we are able to endure no more, till we perish for want of Strength, and, like wretched Patients in the Hands of mercileſ Empiricks, sink under thoſe Experiments which they make for their private Profit, and without either Concern or Hopes of doing us Good.

If it should be suggested, that it is a thing not to be conceived, how any Set of Men possessed of Property, should have it in their Wills to affiſt and propagate ſuch a Spirit; or how any Set of Men without Property, should be able to do it, answer it thus: That *Property* does not convey *Probity*; that tho' a Man has a *large Stake* in his *Country*, and is therefore by Ties of Interest, as well as of Duty, bound to her Service, yet it is not absolutely certain, that he actually will do ſo. In the very worst Attempts, that have been made in *England*, Men of Fortune have been concerned. Some Men of great Fortune and Quality too, conſpired the Death of *Henry V.* when he was about to invade *France*. There were several Men of Fortune engaged with *Perkin Warbeck*. There were Persons of large Property in the Northern Rebellion against Queen *Elizabeth*; and in much later Times, there were Persons of conſiderable Distinction privy to the Assassination Plot. In a free Country it is no Wonder, if among Men of Estates there shall ſome be found, who think they have not the Respect paid them which their Fortune, their Rank, and their Abilities, ſeem to them to deserve. Such Persons will always be forming Parties, and disturbing a Government, not conſidering the evil Consequences that ſuch a Proceeding may have, with reſpect to the Nation in general; but keeping their Eyes fixed on thoſe Posts of which they think themſelves worthy, and which they will never allow to be rightly administered while they are in other Hands. Of ſuch Men

Men as these, are the Leaders of every Faction composed ; and if any Man will give himself the Trouble of entering into the Characters of the Men who are in our Histories pointed out as the great Managers of our political Disputes, they will find them just such as I have represented them. I must beg Leave to add, that they will also find those Abilities which enabled them to manage Parties with Success, fully justified the keeping them out of Posts of State ; and made their Complaints appear as groundless, as their Conduct was iniquitous.

But it is not only Men of Property who are fit to spread and cherish this Spirit ; the most indigent People are of Use in the same way ; nay, they are the most useful Instruments, tho', till they acquire Property, they cannot pretend to the supreme Direction. A Set of Men who have wasted their Estates in the pursuit of their Pleasures, or who by a wrong Turn in their Educations have acquired Desires incompatible with their Fortunes, such Men, I say, to gratify themselves, will become the most industrious Tools of a Party. *Oliver Cromwell, John Lilburne, and Sir William Waller*, were, at the Beginning of the Civil War, Men of this Stamp in active Life. And there were Numbers who engaged in Mercuries, Pamphlets, and other Things of a like Nature, whereby they promoted the Parliament's Cause, and their private Fortunes, at the same time. Since those Days, we have seen every Party sufficiently furnished with both Sorts of People, that is to say, with Men who would stir and act, and with others who would write and speak for them ; not from Principles of Conscience, but from a petulant Disposition, a Desire of Railing at their Betters, and of bettering themselves by that means.

The Bulk of a Party is generally composed of #  
F Men

Men in a middling Condition, and of weak Parts, who either through personal Dependence on the Chiefs, through wrong Notions of Government in general, or through a Desire of appearing of more Importance than they really are, suffer themselves to be persuaded of the Truth of Things they cannot understand, and afterwards make a Merit of adhering steadily to Notions picked up, as it were, by Chance. Among such People, Sound is frequently mistaken for Sense ; plausible Discourses pass for clear and unanswerable Proofs ; and the longer the Delusion continues, the stronger and the more outrageous it grows. From what has been said, it fully appears, that there is nothing strange or incredible in supposing, that Men of large Fortunes should for their own sakes prefer a Party Spirit to a Publick Spirit ; that these Men should find Emissaries capable of placing their Opinions in a fair Light ; or that Numbers should be so imposed upon by these Arts, as to engage with the utmost Zeal for promoting a Cause none of their own ; and by promoting of which, it is impossible they should be Gainers.

To alledge therefore, as some celebrated Writers daily do, that popular Clamour is Proof, and that a Number of People abetting any Proposition is sufficient to shew that it is true and reasonable, will appear a rash and ill-founded Conclusion. Such a Clamour, or such a Set of Opinions, may have been raised and supported in the Way and by the Means which have been just now set forth ; and then the Heat that is expressed in Favour of them, will be so far from giving them Weight in any wise Man's Apprehension, that it will, in Fact, raise a Jealousy in him of their Worth, because People in a Passion seldom have sound Judgments. Neither is it in Politicks alone, that this Sophism of placing Zeal for Integrity, and the Cry of the Mob for the

Voice

Voice of Truth, hath taken place. It hath been the same Case in respect to Sciences, and even in regard to Religion itself, as all who are acquainted with History cannot but know ; and therefore the Eagerness with which certain political Points are now press'd, ought rather to incline us to a serious Examination of their Worth and Weight, than to receive them implicitly on a Supposition, that those who support them are neither imposed on themselves, nor intend to impose upon us. There is a National, and there is a Party Spirit. But because the latter is in some respects like the former, we ought to be the more cautious ; for Counterfeits well guided are the most likely to deceive.

The Reader must observe, that I am very careful in proving whatever I advance. It is become fashionable of late, to call all Things Declamations which do not breathe a certain Spirit ; and to avoid the Imputation of endeavouring to move the Passions, I have all along set down what I think is Truth, and why I think it Truth. Hitherto I have been removing Impediments, and clearing the Way of those Incumbrances which Men of Art have laid on Purpose to make honest People stumble. I have endeavoured to shew, that there is a certain Mystery in Patriotism ; that this is of late grown an equivocal Term ; that those who make the most Use of it, use it in a wrong Sense ; and that the Mystery of their Patriotism is, in Fact, a Mystery of Iniquity. I have also made it my Business to point out the Nature and Management of this Mystery, and the Methods by which the Managers make it more and more a Mystery. I have shewn too, how the Scene may be cleared up, and the People delivered from all the fantastick Terrors, with which those who call themselves Patriots have so long affrighted them. I have set a Spirit of Reformation in its true Light, and exposed as

well as I was able, that Spirit of Faction which hath so many Votaries amongst us. I come now to the most material Part of my Work, that is, the stating the real Grievances of our Country, and their probable Remedies.

In the first Place, Truth requires of me to own, that my Countrymen, and especially my Contemporaries, have suffered Prosperity to corrupt them. Our Situation, the Arts transmitted to us by our Ancestors, and the happy Frame of our Constitution, make us quite another sort of People than our Neighbours. We live in greater Abundance, we act with greater Freedom, our Diversions are in quite another Taste, and all these are demonstrative Proofs of the Truth of what I say. I do not however affirm, that it is absolutely impossible a rich and flourishing People should not be luxurious and seditious, because we every Day see that Men of vast Fortunes live as modestly, and are as virtuous, as those who have but mean ones. Whence it may be inferred, that a whole Nation might be remarkable for Wealth and Probity at one and the same time. I shall hereafter shew, that this may be our Case. At present I labour only to establish the Fact, that our Corruption is produced by our Prosperity; of which I shall offer two Proofs, which I take to be conclusive. The first of these is the Complaints of the Malecontents, which all turn on this Topick. It is true, that they frequently tell us of universal Poverty, and a gradual Decay of Trade; but as they ascribe both these to Luxury, it is easy to see that their Account of our Condition is inconsistent. Luxury will be fatal to Individuals, and Numbers will be impoverished by it; but the Sineas of Luxury, and of War, are Wealth and Trade; and therefore the true State of the Case is this, That the Children of those ruined by Luxury in this Age, must toil for the Children of

of the Industrious in the next. My second Proof is the Evidence of Foreigners. Let any Man read the Accounts given of us by *French* and *Dutch* Writers, and they will see, that they speak exactly as I do. Now, tho' I shall readily admit, that they are very incompetent Judges of our Laws, our Manners, and even of our Learning, yet I cannot but think they are the best Judges in the World of our Circumstances. We may believe ourselves to be richer and happier than the Inhabitants of *France* or of *Holland*; but the *French* and *Dutch* only can know, that we really are so. Ours is but Opinion at best, but their Sentiments are certain; for no Man gives up the Cause of his Country but from the clearest Conviction.

In order to take off from the Harshness of this Charge, it is necessary to shew, that Prosperity is naturally dangerous to the Virtues of a People; and that tho' the End of a well-constituted Government is to secure Prosperity to its Subjects, yet this does not include any Power of preventing their being corrupted by Prosperity. We see that the *Israelites*, while they were ruled by *Judges*, I mean while that was the settled Form of Government, were alternately happy and oppressed. Whoever considers their History attentively, will see the Fate of all Societies. Virtue, Industry, and a good Constitution, will make a State flourish; and when these are wanted, the People must become miserable, and a Prey to their Neighbours. Now the Reason of these quick Successions of Want and Wealth in this Nation, was the Excellence of their Government at that time; which brought Things sooner to Maturity, than any other Form invented by the Wit of Man. The Truth of this will appear by considering, that when the People would needs have a Monarchy, the Case altered; and their Prosperity, even when Providence favoured them,

them, was of a flower Growth. At Length it came to its full Height under *Solomon*: But what was the Consequence? Why both Princes and People were unable to bear their good Fortune, and so all Things sunk into Confusion again. I do not use the Authority of the sacred Writings here as they are inspired, but as they contain an excellent Body of History; and as they contain a larger, and more certain Account of this People, than can be met with any-where else of another People; and therefore the best political Writers have constantly drawn Examples from these Books. This Apology must needs seem strange to some; but I cannot help that, since I am sure it will be thought necessary by others; and, as far as I am able, I am willing to comply with all.

The Greek History will afford us Matter of Observation in the same way. *Athens* produced her greatest Men when she was in her greatest Distress; their Virtues raised their Country to Power and Splendor, and they frequently fell Victims to those Vices which Power and Splendor introduced. *Athens* came to be the principal State of *Greece*, by contributing so much to the Destruction of the *Persian Empire*; but the Pride of her Advance-ment proved the Cause of her being debased. The Virtues of her Citizens got the better of Adversity; but that Prosperity which her Virtues procured, triumphed over their Country in the End. It was the same thing at *Sparta*: While the Subjects of that State had many Difficulties to struggle with, they were deservedly renowned; and the *Greeks* had all the Reason in the World to place them at their Head, when they attempted to shake off the Tyranny of the *Athenians*. But when by the *Peloponnesian War* *Sparta* had humbled her Rival, her Prosperity introduced the Causes of her own Ruin: The very Man who triumphed over *Athens*, laid

laid a Scheme for subverting the Constitution of Sparta. Afterwards, when the whole Power of Greece came to be united by the Arts of Philip of Macedon, it produced one great Blaze of Glory, and after that followed perpetual Decay. This shews that too great Prosperity may be destructive to a People; and that we ought to commend the Prudence of such Politicians, as desire rather to preserve their Countrymen free and happy, than to raise them to a Pitch of envied Greatness, which seldom outlasts one Generation, tho' it serves to make many miserable. I am sensible, that there is nothing easier than to sneer upon this Observation, under Colour of applauding such a prudent Politician; but I am sensible also of another thing, that it is not easy to answer it from Reason and History: And as for other Answers, they may do well enough in Disputes of no Consequence; but where the Fate of a Nation is at Stake, they will never be employed by any but the Patriots, who can laugh over an expiring State, and write a Farce on the Downfall of their Country.

I would willingly have passed by the Roman History; but there are some Things in it so very much to my Purpose, and which others have so strangely misapply'd, that I cannot help touching on it. We have heard much of good Dictators taken from the Plough. Does not this prove, that Roman Virtues preceded the Prosperity of Rome? Those Dictators did not plough for Diversion; and I am certain they have often been applauded by Men who would not even for their Characters change Conditions, or gratify their Vanity at the Expence of an Estate in Middlesex. After the last Punick War, when Rome saw herself without a Rival, she produced great Men indeed; but, alas! to her Prejudice! She had no more Enemies to combat, and so the Capacities of her Heroes

Heroes turned upon each other. I say this after *Sallust*; and I cannot produce either a better Authority, or a better Example, since it is generally agreed there hardly ever was a worse Man, or a better Writer. We all know the *Augustan* Age is a Phrase equivalent to the highest Prosperity. But what were the Ages that followed it? And what were the Politicks of *Augustus*? Is it not well known, that he suspected his own Prosperity, and that of the Empire, and was for restraining both, by resigning his own Power, and giving the Empire Limits? Might not this Matter be illustrated by much later Examples? Were not the *Venetians*, were not the *Genoese*, ruined by Prosperity? And how far I pray was *France* from it even in our own Remembrance? Did not *Lewis XIV.* live to see his Title of *Great* justly ridiculed, when some of the scandalous Trophies of Adulation, raised on account of his Conquests, became Ornaments at *Blenheim-house*, and perpetual Monuments of his Defeats? It is in respect to Countries, the same thing as with regard to the Fortunes of private Men. There is more Wisdom shewn in declining the Summit, than Courage in mounting it. *Est Modus in Rebus.*

The Issue of all this is, that Prosperity hath had a Power of corrupting most Nations; and therefore we ought not to be amazed, or out of our Wits, at perceiving Symptoms of the like Nature here. It is no Imputation on the *English* Nation, that they are Men, and, as Men, prone to human Frailties. Some People indeed, who are so distractedly fond of Panegyrick, that they think it the highest Patriotism to be always praising their Country, crowd their Writings eternally with the Wisdom, Courage, and Spirit of the *British* People. For my part, I can scarce think there is any Sincerity in this. On the contrary, I am inclined

to

to believe, that if they were thoroughly persuaded of their Countrymens Merits, they would hardly flatter themselves so grossly. But be that as it will; as it is the truest Mark of private Friendship not to sacrifice Truth to Complaisance, and as it is the Duty of a Physician to prefer a Patient's good Health to his good Opinion, so a political Writer, who has an honest Heart, will rather consider how to make his Works profitable to his Readers, than how to make them pleasant. At least this hath been my Care. But to make the Subject still clearer, I must proceed to the Means by which Prosperity hath corrupted us; and having done this, every Reader of tolerable Understanding will see the proper Method of Cure.

I say then, secondly, that one of our great Grievances is a Disrespect towards our Constitution. I call this a Grievance, because it equally prejudices the Government, and its Subjects. No Administration can exert itself properly, where the highest Respect is not paid to the Constitution. The Zeal of the French for the Honour of their Monarchy, saved their Country in the last War; and the publick Spirit of a neighbouring State hath saved it many times. The same kind of Zeal hath manifested itself often here, and I hope shall do so again. But at present it is certain, that there are many amongst us, who think themselves knowing Men and Patriots, and yet have no true Respect for our Constitution. In all things they say they study to depreciate Monarchy in general, and to represent all Loyalty as either Hypocrisy or Madness. Yet without Question our Constitution is *Monarchy*, and this is the chief Reason why it is so beneficial to the People. If it was an *Aristocracy*, they would be governed by a few; if it was a *Democracy*, we should often have no Government at all. As it is, we are, if we but understand it,

perfectly happy. The Legislative Power is in the *King, Lords, and Commons*; but the *Executive* Power is in the King; and it is this, which under a false Notion of Liberty, some are for wresting out of his Hands.

Power, like Wealth, can only be enjoyed to a certain Degree. The Crown, in discharging the executive Part of the Government, makes use of its Subjects, and those Subjects are accountable to the Legislature for the Manner in which they execute it. In this consists the great Security of the People. The Power of the Crown would be truly dangerous, if the King's Ministers were not accountable. But we have now a Law, which not only puts it out of the King's Power to prevent them from being called to an Account, but also to pardon them when they are called to an Account. In this respect, a Minister is in a worse State than another Man. A Pardon may be pleaded to an Indictment for Murder, but not to an Impeachment for a Misdemeanour. On this Side, the People seem to have all the Security they can have. Our common Law says, that the King can do no Wrong; this makes his Instruments accountable. Here is a Statute, that takes away the Vigour of a Pardon; so that if they do Wrong, they must suffer for it. What can be had more? But now take the Thing the other way. Suppose, as it has been often talked of, the great Officers were appointed by Parliament, Would it not be more probable, that the Parliament should screen its own Creatures than the King's? A Man must have great Interest in Parliament, before he could be appointed an Officer of State, or a Minister; and might he not use his Power so to increase this Interest to a formidable Greatness? Hath not this Case happened elsewhere? Nay, hath it not happened here, when our *Barons* had great Power? The People,

People, in such a Case, are without Remedy ; they might complain to the Throne, and the Prince seated thereon might pity them, but he could not redress 'em. In few Words then, one great Excellency of our Constitution is this, that the King's Authority is the People's Privilege, so long as he makes a right Use of it ; and if he makes a wrong one, they have the Privilege of redressing themselves, by the Means of their Representatives. All other Schemes are vague and impertinent ; they may serve to amuse the Weak, and to employ the Wicked ; but if ever they should be carried into Practice, our Constitution would be lost, and we no more a People. Our *Monarchy* and our *Liberty* are *indissolubly* united ; and whenever this *Cord* is cut in twain, one Part of the Nation must become *Slaves* to the other.

All general Declamations therefore against *Tyranny*, all Attempts to render the Power of the Crown odious in the Eyes of the People, all Endeavours to eradicate the Remains of Loyalty from amongst us, whatever outward Appearance it may have of a Spirit of Liberty, proceed without doubt from a Spirit of Ambition. The Measure of Power in a Government, like the Quantity of Motion in the World, is and must be always the same. If you take it away here, you must add it there, and this they know best, who propagate these new Notions of Liberty most. The People cannot use Power, if it could be procured for them ; and therefore it would devolve, Where ? Why sure upon those who procured it ! This accounts for their Eagerness ; but would it account for ours ? If they have Sense enough to know what would benefit them, shall not we know what is for our own Advantage ? Have not our old Lawyers made it out over and over again, that a limited *Monarchy*, like ours, is the best of all Govern-

ments? and did not Experience demonstrate, that an *English* Commonwealth is the very worst? But it may be said, tho' you think so, many have struggled for it. But I will tell you what sort of People these are. They were such as would have governed us, if they could have obtained what they struggled for. They pretended to serve the Nation, but they intended to serve themselves. Modern Republicans struggle for a *Climax*, for a *Creature* of their own Brains. They fancy that every Commonwealth must resemble *Athens* or *Rome*: But how so? *Athens* and *Rome* had large Dominions, their Citizens were free, and their Subjects Slaves. Would they have it so here? I believe I could point out Citizens would like well enough to be free; but I hope there lives not an *Englishman* who would brook being a Slave!

It appears from hence, that a Man may have Loyalty, and espouse the just Rights of the Crown, without having the least Propensity to arbitrary Measures, or any Inclination to lord it over his Fellow-subjects. It is this Sort of Loyalty which is peculiar to our Constitution, and without which it can never subsist, at least in Safety. For the contrary Spirit is either a Spirit of private Advantage, or a Spirit of *Anarchy*. We all know, that according to the Law of *England*, it is Treason to turn the Government upon the People, that is, to employ ministerial Power for their Destruction, and even under the Colour of Law. And *Empson* and *Dudley* were executed for this; not, as some have imagined, by any extraordinary Course, but by Indictment in the common Manner; and surely it is as much Treason to strain the Constitution the other way, to endeavour to tie up the Hands of the Prince, and to deprive him of any Part of that Authority to which by our Constitution he is intitled. We know what is said of Princes who break

break their Coronation-Oaths; and sure it is a little odd to expect Fidelity, from them, while we pretend to play fast and loose ourselves, and to regulate their Power according to our Notions of its Conveniency for us.

Another grand Evil is our Mistakes as to publick Spirit: We fancy it to be this, and that, and the other; but we seldom sit down and consider, what a publick Spirit really is. This, notwithstanding, would be a reasonable and wise Thing, because whatever is of publick Utility, must have pretty evident Marks; and if we will not inquire what those Marks are, or where they are to be found, it is our own Fault; we deceive ourselves, and become very justly Victims to our own Mistakes. To point out these and their Sources, would be a very laborious Task, and require more Application in the Reader, than I have just Reason to expect he should pay to so obscure an Author: Something however I ought to say on the Head, and something I will say, that it may provoke others either to amend or to refute my Notions.

A publick Spirit must regard the Publick; and therefore whatever Spirit is raised either in Favour of, or against a particular Set of Men, is not, cannot be a publick Spirit. Now, as all Slips from a Canal diminish its Stream, so in respect to publick Spirit, when Mens Thoughts and Endeavours are diverted to private and particular Ends, its Motions will be very languid, and its Effects scarce perceptible. Yet it has been our Misfortune to see this Case happen more than once within this our Isle, that is, in plain *English*, to see such general Mistakes made on the Head of publick Spirit, as issued in Designs very wide of the publick Good. I will give two Instances, which will make this Matter clear to Men of all Parties, which I hope will render them more cautious, whenever there

shall be an Appearance of like Circumstances, that what has prejudiced us once as a Nation, may not do so again.

Not long after the Restoration, the Publick began to feel the Weight of some Grievances; and in Consequence thereof, naturally began to complain. These Complaints were the natural Fruits of publick Spirit under a free Government; and if they had been properly directed, could not fail of answering their Ends, and of procuring Redress. At the same time there was at Court, what there will be in all Courts, a Faction against the Minister at that Time, the *Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England*. There were likewise lurking in the Nation, various other Factions; *some Republicans; others, Fifth Monarchy-men*; the Remains of Sir Henry Vane's Party of *Seekers*, who were, in plain English, for they knew not what. The small Court Faction drew by Degrees all the other Parties to concur so far in their Opinion, as to suppose the Ruin of the *Chancellor* the first Step to the bringing about all their Ends. This once done, a universal Clamour rose against the Minister; and as the Mistake was easy, the Cry of the Publick was understood to be the Voice of publick Spirit. Upon this the Minister was sacrificed; and as the *Jews*, upon such extraordinary Occasions, made use of whatever came next to Hand; so our Patriots, to make short Work of it, laid their *Victim* on the *broken Constitution*. They banished him, by a Law made without Evidence; and while they called themselves the *Saviours of the People*, they took away all the Security the People had, by an arbitrary Act, unjust in its Nature, and therefore illegal, in spite of all Forms. It is true, they charged him with many black things; and, according to the old Custom in such Cases, they alledged they were too

too notorious to stand in need of Proof. They charged him with the *Portugal Match*, which he might have brought about without committing any Crime ; and yet it hath since appeared, that it was not of his contriving. They affirmed, that the King was dissatisfy'd with it from the first, but that he was over-persuaded by his Minister ; but there is still extant a Letter, under the King's own Hand, to the Chancellor, immediately after the Consummation of the Marriage, wherein the King declares himself perfectly well pleased with it. It was asserted, that knowing the Queen would have no Children, he had secured the Succession of the Crown to his own Descendants, by the Marriage of his Royal Highness with his Daughter. Both these are known to be false. The Queen was not incapable of having of Children ; the Chancellor was not privy to the Duke's Marriage ; and if he had, it would have given no Countenance to this Plot. It was farther said, that he managed the *Sale of Dunkirk* ; and to put this out of Doubt, the Mob were taught to call his new House *Dunkirk Palace*. The Council-book, which was probably withdrawn to favour this Opinion, is since come to Light ; and there it appears, that the Chancellor's Concern in this Business was no other than this ; he gave his Reasons against it, and subscribed them. Lastly, his House, which was a very fine one, was brought to depose against him, that he was equally vain, and full of Wealth. The Truth of the Matter was, the Chancellor wanted a House ; and he made a Contract, and a very modest one ; the City of *London* having a high Esteem for him, entered into a secret Treaty with the Builders, which produced the *Palace*. When the Chancellor saw it, he said, *I am obliged to the Gentlemen for their good Will ; but this House will be my Ruin.* Thus fell *Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon,*

*rendon*, a Man of the greatest publick Spirit this Nation ever saw, and a Servant equally faithful both to King and People. By this Mistake, the Duke of Bucks came to be prime Minister, and the Affairs of the Nation were put into the Hands of a Man who never knew how to manage his own : Nor was he the last Patriot of this Time ; Mistake succeeded Mistake throughout that Reign ; and in the next, Mistakes of a like Nature put the King upon attempting to ruin his Subjects, and force them, to save themselves, to ruin him.

After the Revolution, that publick Spirit which had appeared at first, began to be diverted into private Channels ; and those who were most concerned to have kept it in its proper Canal, unfortunately fancied it their Interest to see it thus diverted. This hindered the Pursuit of that Plan laid down in the Prince of Orange's Declaration ; and this gave the Enemies of the Revolution no Opportunity of questioning the publick Spirit of those who brought it about. The Desire of the King expressed to satisfy all Parties, his trying some out of all, and his Administration acting on no fixed Principles, raised the Spirits of his Enemies, and discouraged his Friends. Hence it came to pass, that *publick Spirit*, in his Reign, was absolutely mistaken ; and in its stead, an *anti-ministerial* Spirit was received and applauded. The Consequences of this Error were such as might have been expected. It became popular to oppose always, and in all things, a popular Prince. Men who meant well to Liberty, united with those who meant to destroy it, against Ministers whom they hated for possessing Offices necessary to the State. A distressed Administration must have recourse, not to the Meaures they like, but to the Measures which will serve their Turns ; yet this Necessity, which ought to have excused them, was urged as

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as an Aggravation of their Offences. These Bickerings produced the Debts of the Nation; and thus a false Notion of publick Spirit as certainly begets publick Oppression, as a true one redresses it. I only write as Experience dictates; and he who would confute what I say, must remove Facts, and not Arguments; and so I conclude this Point.

The last Source I shall mention of our Difficulties, is narrow Notions with respect to Trade. In this we never distinguish between the Commerce which enriches the Nation, and those Branches of Trade which increase the Wealth of private People; and, for want of this necessary Distinction, we mistake the Interest, and we miscall the Friends and Enemies of Trade. There is nothing truer, nothing more certain, than that the Wealth of this Nation, and, if I may be allow'd to say it, the political Health of it, depends upon our Trade. But how far the Prosperity of Trade may or may not depend on the intervening of the legislative Power, is what I confess myself an incompetent Judge. This I know, that Commerce is, in its own Nature, a free Thing; and that, as in a private way, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to force a Trade: So in respect to the commercial Interests of States, I believe it will be found a Point not easily clear'd, whether Laws for regulating particular Branches have done most Hurt or most Good. The Merchants of *England* are a Body of Men of the utmost Consequence, and worthy of the highest Respect. But when you come to divide these, and to subdivide them, you must have a Care of supposing, that the Merchants concern'd in this or that Branch of Trade, are to have the Reverence paid them, which is due only to the whole Body. A Minister who studies most to serve the trading Interest, will necessarily be upon bad Terms with such as have private Interests in particular Branches of

Trade, because his Notions and his Schemes of Trade, must everlastingly cross theirs. He will have the same Zeal for the Whole, that they have for Parts; and as their Interests will frequently run counter, so he will please few or none by endeavouring to protect all. I state this as a general Case, and with no View to the particular Circumstances of Time: My Aim is to shew, that many Complaints may arise, where there is no Injury done; and the Inference I would draw is this: That where Mistakes are easy, and the Grounds of Judgment difficult, we should not run the Hazard of injuring ourselves by too hasty a Decision.

All that has been hitherto said, hinders not the encouraging of Trade by general Laws; such as tend to increase the Number of our natural Commodities, to encourage our present Manufactures, to incite the inventing or perfecting of new ones; in fine, whatever hath a Tendency to encourage and reward Industry, or to punish Idleness, and render it infamous. It is Labour and Industry, which makes Trade of such mighty Consequence. The Strength of a State consists in the Number of its People; but then it is with this *Proviso*, That these People are properly employ'd. A Number of lazy People are useless and dangerous: A Number of starving People much more so. But where Trade flourishes, the People can neither starve nor be idle. And this shews, that Manufactures are, generally speaking, of more Value to a Country, than native Commodities, let them be ever so rich. For Instance: The Spaniards, in the *West Indies*, have Gold and Silver; yet they are far from being happy in themselves, or formidable to their Neighbours. Our Manufactures bring a great Part of this Gold and Silver into our Hands, and, at the same time, are the Sources of our Strength, and maritime Powers. We see then, or, at least, we may

may see, that it is our Interest to be content with our Lot, and to make it our Business rather to cultivate our Manufactures, than to make ourselves Masters of Mines ; because in this, as well as in some other respects, the old Proverb hath much Truth in it ; *The farthest Way about, is the nearest Way home.* There is a mighty Difference between the Fancies of sanguine People, and the calm Thoughts of judicious Men, who reason upon Facts, not upon Chimeras ; and are always inclin'd to think, that Nature and Providence are better trusted, than counteracted ; human Wisdom having been seldom found to manage well the Back-game.

There are, however, some Commodities as valuable as Manufactures ; and it is our Blessing, that we have them as well as Manufactures. I will instance only *Fish* and *Coal*. Both these produce Money as well as the *Indian Ore*, and with this Advantage, that they do not waste, but increase our Subjects ; occasion annual Additions to our Shipping, and, if private Interest gave way to national Concern, might procure us the Title of *The Maritime Power* ; which might, or might not be a Blessing, according as we used it. From all this may be gather'd, that Disputes about Trade, sometimes do, and sometimes do not, concern the Nation. As to particular Branches of Commerce, they will sometimes ebb, sometimes flow : Old ones will be lost, and new ones will spring up. Nor are these Variations to be charg'd to the Account of any Administration ; it is the Balance of Trade with respect to the Nation, for which, and for which only, Men at the Helm are accountable ; and this, I acknowledge, is very hard to be known. But we must not from thence conclude, that there is no knowing whether an Administration does its Duty on this Head, or no ; because, as I shall

prove, this is no just Consequence. We can easily tell whether the general Ends of Trade are answer'd; whether our native Commodities are exported; whether our Manufactures flourish; whether our People are employ'd; whether our Wealth circulates; and whether our Shipping increases. These are Things easily known; and whenever these Queries are answer'd in the Affirmative, we may depend upon it, that either the Balance of Trade is in our Favour, or that the Fault is not in our Administration. On the other hand, if the Fault be in ourselves, it cannot be very dangerous, because it must be the Effect of our Luxury; and if Luxury do not introduce Idleness, it rather spurs than wounds a trading People; it may draw Blood, indeed, for the present, but it will make us mend our Speed for the future; and is an Evil, which, whenever it is known, will speedily be cured; I mean by the natural Course of Things, and without having recourse to State Medicines.

These seem to me the principal Sources of those Disquiets whence the Evils are bred under which we labour. Many, at first reading them, will, I am persuaded, think them loose and trivial; but if they will consider them thoroughly, and compare them with the Causes others have assign'd, there will be but few who will not give them their proper Weight. I could easily have enter'd, more minutely, into a Multitude of Things: But I chuse to leave these to th<sup>e</sup> Detection of the Reader; who, by applying the Principles I have laid down, will find it no difficult thing to account for all our political Diseases. There is yet another Thing which I have promised, and which I intend also to perform; that is, to speak of the general Remedies which are proper for these Complaints. Without this, I should conceive, that I had done little Service;

vice ; to open new Scenes of Distress, and to dilate on publick Mischiefs, in a new Style, without some alleviating Circumstances, or proposing, after the Wounds are probed, how they may be cur'd. In doing this, I shall be short and plain ; and, I hope, my Method will be thought the more practicable, because it includes nothing which is not in every Man's Power, and which, at the same time, a Sense of Duty should oblige him to perform. This I take to be truly a Patriot Scheme ; because it is for the Benefit of all, without injuring of any ; it needs neither the repealing of old Laws, nor the enacting of new ; but depends solely on the Execution of those which we already have. In a Word, it is equally remov'd from Bribery and Corruption, from Prejudice or private Interest ; it hath nothing to do with Parties ; and, I am very sensible, Parties will have nothing to do with it.

The first Thing that ought to be done is, the making a thorough Change in our Conduct ; that is, thinking of the Affairs of our Country, as if they were really Matters of some Importance. When a Man consults his Attorney, he receives a grave at least, though a crafty Answer. Few Physicians pretend to joke with Fevers ; nay, even Players, who are, by Profession, the least sober Part of Mankind, pretend to have their Business, as they call it, much at heart. But is it so with our Politicians ? Are not their Writings fam'd for being jocular and humourous, at a Time yet, when our Situation is none of the happiest ? Some of our Senators, again, Do they resemble the *Greeks* and *Romans* in their Gravity ? or, Do they not deal as much in Point and Repartee, as the Writers of Comedy in the last Age ? Is this over-consistent with their high Professions of Patriotism ? Did Cardinal *Fleury* jest the Grand Duke of *Tuscany* ?

Or did Admiral *Vernon* pretend to joke the *Spaniards* into a Surrender of *Porto Bello*? No, no. When People are really in Earnest, their Language will shew it. A Man drops a Tear over his dying Father: And shall the same Man laugh at the Pangs and Agonies of his Country? Let those who defend this Conduct, practise it. But before I expect any great Matters to be performed in the necessary Work of Reformation, I must see the People in a more composed Temper than they are at present; better informed of Things pertaining to the publick Weal, and better inclined to sacrifice, at least, a Part of their private Interests, to that Interest which themselves have in the Publick. I cannot exactly say when or how this will come to pass; but I persuade myself it will come, though late: And on a Supposition, that I shall not prove a false Prophet in this respect, I shall go on to mention some other Remedies, which may then take place.

All Parties will then be lost, all Party Distinctions swallowed up; for this has been, and this must be the Case, whenever the publick Good is really intended. We shall then hear no more of turning out such and such Men, and bringing such and such People into Play. Projects altogether unworthy of *Englishmen*, to whom all Offices of State ought to appear as Burdens, not to be desired, but as the bearing of them may benefit our Country. While we fancy, that it is Cause sufficient to embroil us, that this Man is great, and not the other; and that such a 'Squire lives in the Country, and not in Town, we can never want Troubles. But when the People have once open'd their Eyes, to see what they may at any time see, that it is the right Use of Employments, which ought to be the Object of their Care, and not who is possessed of them; then Things will go as they ought to do; every

every Man will then mind his own Business : Those who are entrusted with the Administration will execute that Trust with Integrity : Those whose Duty it is to watch for the Good of the People, and to supply the necessary Wants of the Administration, will discharge that Duty as they ought ; and the Bulk of the Nation, by minding, industriously, their private Affairs, will render themselves good and useful Subjects. All Degrees of People will then be united in their Views, with respect to the Publick ; the Good of which they will promote for their own sakes, and from a just Sense of the Benefits they shall reap therefrom, instead of following blindly the Dictates of a Party, and doing strange Things, they knew not why or wherefore ; which, however, they have heretofore done. They will follow, in such a Season as this, their private Sentiments, with respect to all publick Transactions, which will be found a much surer Guide, than pinning their Faiths on other Mens Sleeves. An *English* Freeholder, when left to himself, is alike uninclined to Slavery and Sedition ; but judging of other People's Integrity by his own, he may be misled by such as he supposes to have had better Opportunities than he of understanding publick Affairs ; and this hath given Strength to Parties, and proved too often fatal to the Publick.

I suppose, that when publick Spirit is thus revived, the *Nobility* and *Gentry* of *England* will pursue a Conduct worthy their Stations ; that is to say, they will have that Duty for their Sovereign, that Good-will towards his Administration, and that Affection for the common Weal, which may be hoped for from Men distinguished by Birth, Breeding and Fortune. Instead of seeking to inlarge considerable Estates, or to repair broken ones, at the Expence of the Nation, they will be content to serve it as the Constitution prescribes ; that is, in

in Places, if the King pleases ; or in Parliament, if they are called thither by their Birth, or the People's Choice. And instead of listing their Neighbours into so many Bands for the Service of Faction, they will do their utmost to keep the People quiet and satisfy'd, so far as it is in their Power ; and they will make it their Glory to demonstrate the Influence they have in this way, as well by their Examples, as by the Benefits they have conferred.

We may likewise suppose, that the *Clergy*, of all Ranks and Denominations, will be as ready to promote the Peace and Prosperity of the People in this World, as their Happiness in that to come ; by shewing them the Folly and Wickedness of pretending to publick Spirit, only to cover their private Designs ; by instructing them in their Duty, as Members of Society ; and shewing them, that the Christian Law binds them as much to be good Subjects, as to be good Men. I say nothing of the Influence their Practice ought to have over them, because I do not pretend to meddle with Matters out of my Province. I speak only of the Use which the Clergy, of all Persuasions, may and ought to be to the Civil Government, and how far it is in their Power to further the Growth of true publick Spirit, and to direct it right. I think I may the more justly do this, because, at the same time that there can be nothing more immoral, or more im-politick, than for Men to act without a proper Sense of what they owe to Society, there can be nothing more unchristian. For which Reason the Clergy may do much Good in this way, without stepping out of their Province ; which is more than can be said for their meddling with any other Point of Politicks.

The Men of *Trade*, it may be wished, will consider, that as they expect the Government should pay

pay a great Regard to their private Concerns ; so they, on the other hand, should have an unfeigned Zeal for the Good of Society. Not such a Zeal as is shewn in Corporation Contests ; eating, drinking, talking and caballing, for the sake of nobody knows what, perhaps a few cant Words, or something worse ; but a Zeal for the general Commerce of the Nation, and whatever has any Reference thereto, or Connection therewith : Such a Zeal as will hinder a Man from providing for his Family at the Publick's Expence, by defrauding the Revenue, encouraging a detrimental Traffick, or imposing, when Credit is given to their Judgment, on the Wisdom of the Nation : Such a Zeal as will shew itself in the Probity of their private Lives, and in the Generosity of their publick Actions. These are the Steps by which the Reputation of Trade, and of Traders, will be revived and carried higher than ever ; their Wealth multiply'd, and their Weight increased ; and, by other Steps than these, none of those desirable Ends will ever be attained, whatever Men of smooth Tongues, and false Hearts, may pretend. Nor, can I doubt that this Paragraph will be read with Pleasure by every Trader ; since no Man will have the Front to say, That is impracticable for Him to do, which he would not bind a 'Prentice, if he did not promise to perform. The Whole of my Scheme is built upon a Supposition, that Men will, some time or other, wish their Country as well as they do their Families, and take the same Care of it. This does not exclude a Possibility of their being Profligates, but an Impossibility of their not being thought so : Whereas, at present, though we know well enough what an honest Man signifies ; for I conceive it has but one Sense at all Ends of the Town ; yet, *Patriot*, which signifies an honest Man, in a publick Sense, is a very ambiguous Term : We understand by it, one Thing here, and another there. When

the Time I speak of comes, both will be alike plain ; we shall call him honest, who means well to himself and his Neighbours ; and him a Patriot, who means well to his Country, and shews it in his Actions.

Should it be hinted, that this Time may never come ; I answer, That this is only saying, in other Words, that we shall never be as happy, as easy and flourishing a People as we might be ; that is, as our Constitution is capable of making us. The Author of the *Dissertation upon Parties* says, That our Constitution is to be made perfect by Alterations. Many a Man has been ruin'd by building, and many a Nation undone by altering her Constitution. I agree with him as to the Imperfections we feel : But I say, and I think I have proved, that to remove these, we need not alter the Constitution. We need only alter ourselves, our own Humours, Habits and Tempers ; we shall then find the Constitution perfect enough, when we are willing to act up to it. But if we continue to cherish a Spirit of Restlessness, we shall, instead of advancing towards Perfection, go farther and farther from it ; we shall introduce new Inconveniences, instead of curing the old : And, in short, if we remain long no Friends to ourselves, we shall give our Enemies such Openings, as, I fear, we shall have just Cause to repent.

I shall conclude what I have to offer on the Subject, by a short Parallel between ancient and modern Patriotism ; which will, I hope, place both in their proper Lights. The ancient Patriots had in View the Good of their Country, and the Support of the Government they lived under. The modern Patriots are for establishing their own Nations at any Rate, and plainly avow an Intent of changing the Constitution. The ancient Patriots stated their Grievances clearly, and expressed their Zeal and Duty towards their Governors with equal

Duty

Duty and Affection. The Moderns treat the Government as a Grievance, and roundly assert, that if those who rule them, do not rule according to their liking, they are not bound to obey them. The former disclaimed all Interest, all private Views, all Thoughts of Revenge; and resolved the Whole of their Concern, with respect to Matters of State, into publick Spirit. The latter allow, that they have a mind to change Hands; complain like Children at a Country Fair, that these Boys have rid long enough; do not dissemble their Design of pursuing to Destruction those they dislike; and contend for the Reasonableness of uniting Schemes for their particular Service, with those which they pretend are for the Service of the State. *Lastly*, Whereas the old Patriots affected a high Respect for the supreme Power, and all acting under it; which they abundantly testified in their Words, in their Writings, and their Actions: Too many of those who call themselves Patriots, in our Times, profess no sort of Regard for the supreme Power; which, according to our Constitution, is not in the People, but in the Legislature: So far from it, that, in their Speeches, they vilify, and, in their Writings, expose it to the People, and act in open Contradiction thereto. For the Truth of all this, I refer the sagacious Reader to all the Books which treat of ancient Patriotism, either systematically or historically, and to his daily Experience of our own Patriots; and if he will not trust his own Judgment, when I am willing to leave it to that, and they likewise appeal thereto; then he must remain neuter, and act as the Laws direct; in which Case, I am sure, he will please me.

According to the old Scheme of Patriotism, and according to mine, the Means and the End are certain. It is proposed to rectify whatever is amiss; to make the People happy, and to maintain the Constitution. It is also proposed to do all this in a

legal way : But, according to the Schemes of other People, we are in the dark as to the End and to the Means. They tell us only in general, that they mean us well ; which was told us by the Committee of Safety, and all the other Councils of pretended Patriots, who *plunder'd* and *beggar'd* us, now almost a hundred Years ago. They are not more explicit as to their Method. Sometimes they will have no Army ; because it is not dependent enough on the Civil Magistrate. At others, they are for making the *Army* more *dependent* than it is. Formerly we hoped all things from Parliaments ; but now Parliaments want mending as much as other things. In short, there is no knowing what we are either to fear or to expect. We are to depend entirely on the Wisdom and Honesty of these *State Tinkers* : And all this while they tell us, that common Sense, and common Honesty, are scarce to be found in the Kingdom : Which puts me in mind of the old *English Maxim*, *That every Man is known by the Company he keeps.*

In writing this Pamphlet I may be consider'd as a *Groom Porter*, having adventur'd to give Judgment between *Sharpers* and *Bubbles* ; and, perhaps, I may suffer between both. But it is a thing common in private Life, to see a Man, who does not want Sense, neither sacrifice his Friend to his Flatterers, nor give up his own Judgment ; and that may be my Case. What if it is ? I have done my Duty ; and hereafter, when the Uproar grows loud, the Tables are thrown down, and the Dice appear to be loaded, I shall, at least, be found honest, and, perhaps too, not simple. This is sufficient to console a Person of small Hopes, and whose Wishes are as warm for others as for himself. But to facilitate so lucky an Event, and to shew, that I am not absolutely so dull as I may be thought, (disinterested Patriotism being held a strong Testimony of Dulness) I have bethought myself

myself of adding, by way of Postscript, an Answer to my own Works; wherein I shall endeavour to shew, that I am thoroughly sensible how well sheer Wit and Raillery may be play'd against the gravest and most important Subjects; till Men of weak Minds have them so thoroughly turn'd, as no longer to discern their Duty to Sovereigns, Parents, Families or themselves; but begin to think, that all Sense lies in contemning wholesome Advice, and all Wit in making a Jest of it. When I have done this, I shall hope to have pleased both Parties; since my *Pamphlet* will hit the Taste of one, and my *Postscript* the Humour of the other.

This Rhapsody, would one of our modern Wits say, has one thing good in it, that it has a fair Title; though, considering the Matter, if the Author had been less dull, he might have called it *A political Sausage*. It is an odd sort of a Composition, and made, I verily believe, to rise in People's Stomachs, that they may chew the Cudd of Understanding, and grow wise upon Reflection: An out-of-the-way old-fashion'd Fellow, to fancy that the present penetrating Age will sit dreaming over his grave Observations, when they have so many better Things to read, full of Life, Spirit, and what not! Besides, where is the Scandal? where the secret History? where the borrowed Names? where the Asterisks? where the *Italicks*? and all the rest of the Artillery of Patriotism? The very want of these Things is sufficient to undo him. If the Blockhead had a mind to pass for a Patriot, why did not he put on the Patriot's Mask? In the Days of our Forefathers, such Stuff as this might pass; but, with us, it is certainly Impudence to publish it without the usual Decorations; for here is not so much as a Sentence from *Montaigne*, a smart Line out of *Horace*, or a Passage well apply'd from the *Tale of a Tub*. The poor Rogue is a perfect Puritan in Politicks; he preaches

preaches not to make the People laugh, but to do Good. If he had been on our Side of the Question, he might have been helped out; our young *Man of Quality* should have lent him a few of his hard Words; sent his Manuscript to *France* for the *Vif - t's Perusal*; or have got the *Female Muse*, at *Venice*, to have interspers'd it with secret *Memoirs*. As it is, it will quickly become Waste-paper; he means too well to be minded, and too plainly to be understood. There is some Pleasure in decyphering a Satire; but all Sermons are dull.

This Attempt to unmask the *Dissertation upon Parties*, is foolish: Who does not know the Design of that Book? His Friends call the Author, *The Fox with a restless Spirit*. In the Days of his Youth he embarrassed his Country with his Wit; and now he is grown old, he has laid out his sense in providing that it never shall be quiet. But what Wonder is there in that? The Earl of *Shaftsbury* was more restless than he; otherwise he would not have left Books behind him. Our Author is at pains to shew that the Dissertation will perpetuate Faction. A very good Design! copy'd from that of some noted Foxhunters; who, for fear the Species should fail here, replenish from Abroad. 'Tis true, the Foxes hurt Farmers, and Faction ruin the People; but that's part of a Man of Mettle's Sport. A brisk Fellow, without Education, is a great Sportsman in the Country; turns the Heads of half his Tenants Sons, and sacrifices the Welfare of a Village to the Maintenance of a Pack of Hounds. A Man of Wit and Parts, of Books and of Breeding, who has had a Spice of Travel, and has, or thinks he has, a Knack of Talking, diverts himself in another Field. The *Commonwealth* is, to him, a Park; a *First Minister*, an *old Fox*; and in process of Time, perhaps, he starts a *Hart Royal*. He likewise has his Dependents as well as the Sportsman; but as his Game

Game is of the better Sort, so his Creatures have higher Titles ; they are no longer the 'Squire's Youths, as they would be in *Warwickshire*, but the Country Interest ; and instead of a Foxhunter, the 'Squire himself is a Patriot. This was, this is, this will be the Case in spite of these grave Writers. The *Nimrods* are an ancient Family, and are now in as flourishing a Condition as ever.

The wise Scheme of this strange Fellow is to make the *English* People all of a Mind.

But how came this into his Head ? Did he ever meet with a Precedent for it ? Does not Mr. *Dryden* characterize them

*God's pamper'd People, whom, debauch'd with Ease,  
No King could govern, nor no God could please ?*

What would this Fellow have ? would he out-do Popish Miracles ? The *Fishes*, it is said, listen'd to St. *Antony of Padua*. Well ! that might be ; but should this encourage him to preach to the Sea ? *Rapin's* first Authority is *Cæsar* ; and in his Works we read, that the Inhabitants of this Island were then a divided People. It was this brought the *Romans* hither ; it was this brought the *Saxons* ; it encouraged the *Danes* to invade us ; and, but for it, there had been no *Norman Conquest*. Since then, have we been ever quiet ? Did the Policy of the first *Henry*, did the Courage of *Richard*, the Arts of *John*, the Distress of his *Son*, the Bravery, the Piety, the Wisdom, the Goodness, or the Affability, of any succeeding Princes, make us quiet ? *Henry VII.* was a wise Prince, and had a wise Council ; and yet the utmost he proposed was, to keep himself safe ; and even to do this, he was forced sometimes to encourage Factions, and to play with Parties ; which was also the Policy of his wife Grand-daughter. Yet this consummate Politician expresses a Hope of seeing these People united, because, forsooth, it is for their common Good ;

Good ; and was it not always so ? Did their Quarrels produce any thing but Mischiefs to themselves, and Good to the few, who knew how to manage them ? His Scheme is idle, therefore, and the Patriots he condemns are in the right : They reckon upon the People as they are ; and he supposes them what they should be. It is easy to see whose Account will come out right.

Amongst the rest of his wise Notions, he is for reversing the Order of Things, and making Land-lords subservient to their Tenants. He would have the 'Squire consider the Farmer, and be more concern'd for his Neighbour's Ease, than for his own Rent. Dreams and Chimeras these ! fit for the golden Age ; but absolutely unfit for this. Why did not he see, what seems to have been more his Business, that governing by Influence, is not peculiar to Courts and Ministers, but prevails among all Ranks of People ? Does not the Lord of the Manor consult his Interest in the bestowing his Favours ? Does a Justice of Peace, in the Country, decline all Helps from his Authority, in Support of his private Designs ? Does a Man of a large Estate look upon a neighbouring Borough with as much Indifference as on the County Town ? Or, does not he endeavour, by fair Means, and by foul, by applying to the Hopes of one, to the Fears of another, to the Passions of a Third, and to the Necessities of a Fourth ? What is all this but Influence ? and Influence ! to what End ? to serve the People ? No, to serve his Views ; which his Dependents are taught to think, are the true Interests of the People. This is going out of my way ; but it was proper to mention it, to shew what dull Rogues these Fellows are, and what poor Capacities they have, even for the Cause to which they are attach'd. I warrant you, our Milk-sop Author declin'd talking in this Style, out of Respect to the People. It is with these foolish Fellows, and the Commons of *England*, as it is with modest

modest Men, and the Ladies ; there is a great deal of cold Civility between them, while People of warmer Constitutions, who have less Respect, and more Knowledge, carry their Point, and are well received. There is a *Vigour* in *Faction*, which renders it more *taking* in the *Eyes of the Vulgar*, than *passive Patriotism*.

The Whim of calling the Clergy to his Assistance is well enough ; it shews the Man's Stupidity in its true Light : Aid from the Parsons at this time of Day ! He might as well have talk'd of conjuring ; the *black Art* hath as much *Credit* amongst us, as the *black Robe*. If the Clergy were wise, and declaimed against Courts, why the Patriots would bring them into Power, provided always they might over-rule 'em. But if they propose nothing to themselves but preaching the *Gospel*, and exhorting the People to Obedience, why there must be a Way found to enervate their Eloquence, by suggesting that it is their Interest. By this means, the better their Designs are, they may the easier be set in the worst Light. Besides, *Priestcraft* is a *Charge so popular* in its *Sound*, that it scarce stands in Need of a Shadow of Proof. Whoever considers how readily our Grandfathers pulled down Cloisters, will easily conceive it would be no hard Matter to bring about the *Demolition of Churches*. But it is Prudence not to have too many Irons in the Fire at once. The Point at present in Hand is, the rebuilding the *Mansion-house* of the *Constitution*. That once done, we shall be able to judge, what kind of Chapel will suit the new Fabrick best, or whether we shall need any at all. As for this Booby, by the same Rule that he inclines to keep up the old *Gotick* Seat, no doubt he desires to preserve the Church from Danger. These things may gain him a large Party among the old Women ; but amongst the rising Generation, who have read the *Codes* and *Pau-*

*deeds* of Patriotism, the intrinsick Value of Royal Robes, and Lawn Sleeves, will be thoroughly understood ; nay, some forward Youngsters have ventured to banter both already.

But the Cream of the Jest is, his Patriot Tradesmen ; he might as well have thought of taking dancing Masters from on board a Ship ; or of engaging the Officers in the Militia, to discipline the new-raised Marines. 'Tis a most glorious Conundrum ! and it is almost a Sin to shew it in a worse Light than it naturally stands in. He had surely been in the City lately, and had heard some Brother of ours breathing forth the *Spirit of Patriotism*. The poor Fellow took all he heard for Gospel ; he never dreamt, that a sober Citizen might deceive in a good Cause ; that a canting Prayer might drop from the Lips of an Atheist ; or Proposals for a publick Reformation, from one whose private Thoughts are fouler than the *Augean Stable* : And yet the Blockhead seems to have read *Clarendon*, and *Whitelock*, and *Burnet*, who have a good many Examples of this Sort. The Patriotism of these sort of People, is like Protestations in the way of their Business, with a Salvo to their private Profit ; and he that knows not this, is a Bubble. A Brother Patriot may talk in this Style, for all things are lawful among Friends ; but should a Retainer of the *Court* discover a Smattering in this sort of Science, we would immediately impeach him, impeach him in *Common-Council*, where he would meet with as much Indulgence as a *Spaniard* on his *Trial*, where *West-India Merchants* were the *Jury*. When did this *Wise-acre* ever see a thing of this sort in one of our Papers ! we prompt Men to gratify their Passions, and therefore we are heard ; while the Works of these Preachers of Mortification and Self-denial find a Way to the Chandler's Shop, or the Bog-house, the only Places where they can be useful.

Let us consider the Drift of this fine Discourse, and we shall find it admirable. He proposes two great Ends to himself: The first, is to preserve some small Respect for the Administration; and the other, the fapping the Foundations of modern Patriotism; but a very strange way he has taken to bring them about. He suggests, that *hunting* of *Ministers* keep the Nation in *hot Water*, hinders the People from being attentive to their own Interest, and gives their Enemies mighty Advantages. But what of all this? Shall he judge of a whole Nation? Have we not always delighted in this Diversion? Is it not, metaphorically speaking, the *roast Beef of England*, and *England's roast Beef*. Nobody likes their Cocks better than we, and yet we fight them. Nobody for a time loves their Ministers better: But what then? At last we *hunt* them. He has told us a fine Story of Lord *Clarendon*; might he not have said the same thing of Lord *Somers*? Did we not hunt King *William's Ministers* in a *Body*? Did we not huzza *Marlborough* and *Godolphin* for seven Years? But we hunted them for ali that, till we drove one out of the *Kingdom*, and one out of the *World*. And this *hunting* once over, we fell next to *hunting* them who headed the *Pack*. We *hunted* the *Dissertator* upon *Parties*; and he, to be even with us, hath written a *Treatise* for propagating this Practice in *Sæcula Sæculorum*. This however is no more than other Nations have done; the *Greeks* hunted their Statesmen; so did the *Romans*; and here, but in the last Century, the *Dutch* rose in *full Cry* against the *De Wits*. What then would this Fellow have? Shan't we imitate our Ancestors, and the *Greeks* and *Romans*? Shall we grow as tame and tractable as the *Eastern Nations*, and not divert ourselves with the *Death of a Visier* once in a dozen Years? He will hardly cant us into that.

The Sum of his Reasoning against modern Patriots,

triots, amounts to no more than that it has no fixed End ; and yet, in the same Breath, the Blunderer tells us, that it is calculated to produce a Circle of Revolutions. Is not this the best End in the World ? What can a free, brave, and spirited People desire, but to see things in a lively Motion ; a quick Succession of Men and Measures ; and not a lazy *bum-drum* Series of *Peace* and *Plenty*, *Rest* and *Quiet* ; Guards exercised in *Hyde-Park* ; and Seamen annually paid, without having their Bones broke ? No ! No ! these things will never do ; the same Scenes in the State will no more entertain us, than the same Scenes at the Theatre ; they must be shifted now-and-then, to afford us Variety of Prospects. All his Reasoning therefore, is not worth a Snuff. The modern Patriots are what they ought to be ; Men who study the People's Humours, feed and flatter them ; consequently are in their good Graces. This is a Patriotism he never dreamt of ; his muddy Brains are full of publick Spirit, Regard to the publick Safety, and promoting the publick Good. The modern Patriots are for all this too, but then they are willing to be guided by the publick Taste ; and where they jump in Opinions, run the utmost Lengths with their sovereign Lords the People. If they grow weary of *Peace*, the *Patriots sing to Arms* ; and when they grow weary of an *Embargo*, *Down with the Ministry*. This is imitating the Fondness of a Nurse, or rather the Tenderness of a Mother ; and the Populace have naturally in them such a Childishness, that humour them, and you have them ; but if you cross them, Woe be to you ! This is Nature and Truth ; but as for that Fellow's para-disaical Visions, they are reserved for the new Heavens, and the new Earth ; the old one will never bear them.

F I N I S.







